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EXPERIMENTS IN CORRECTION

THE EDITOR

In all modern countries the social defence programme is gradually being enlarged with the angle of vision focussed towards the prevention of crime and the resocialisation of the offender. The vast advances in science and technology in the modern age are utilised to cater for the offender's convenience and comfort. The appalling filth and overcrowding in the prisons which the great philanthropist Howard revealed in England in the 19th. century are now discernible in hardly any civilized country in the world. But the progress of biological and psychological sciences that have revolutionised the theories and practices of modern education and medicine has had hardly so far any impact on the prevention and treatment of evil-doers. Sociology, psychology, psychoanalysis and psychiatry that deal with different facets of deviant behaviour will in the 20th. century produce results with regard to the treatment of criminals comparable with the applications of the discovery of coal, electricity and atomic power on human technology and material progress.

In India efficiency methods of aiding backward and problem children in schools and child guidance clinics to straighten out problem children will have an appreciable effect on the criminogenic situation. Similarly efficient manual and vocational education to provide every able bodied citizen with a means of making a livelihood and social security or insurance against sickness and unemployment, accident and old age will also markedly lower the incidence of crime.

The Five Year Plans by providing decent housing, abolishing slums and delinquency areas and pushing forward the programme of prohibition and organisation of wholesome recreation, will lead to the diminution of crime. The country's progress toward socialism will not only gradually eliminate dispositions towards anti-social behaviour but also encourage the transmission of genes for social virtues.

The behavioural sciences today forecast constructive methods of treatment, especially designed for the resocialisation of the offender, whether adult or juvenile. Several countries of the world are finding that the most effective way of treating offenders is not to confine them to prisons with their rigorous regimentation of lives but to help them to develop responsibilities and new ways of living and adjustment in the community. In the prisons man enforces silence on the only animal which can speak. The strictly regimented routine of work and life smoothers creative impulses and activities, the repression of which had led to their deflection along deviant, anti-social channels. Work without remuneration also thwarts the operation of economic motives that are dominant in the prevalent social system. Rewards or remissions of sentences in the present system give a premium on base motives, or sycophancy rather than on dignity and manliness, and on the betrayal of fellow inmates. The constant watch and search throughout the day and night in vast barracks that do not

permit any individual treatment engender resentment and impede proper social adaptation in the community.

The prisons should gradually be superseded by work colonies which should not be regarded as penal but rather as training institutions inculcating habits of industry, responsibility and generally good citizenship. Psychological clinics should be established to diagnose and classify the inmates who may be detained in the work colonies for a period of three years. All inmates might be credited with a 33 percent remission of the total sentence as in South Africa.

The significant experiment in respect of penal reforms in Uttar Pradesh of Open Prisoner's Camps and of Social Group Work among delinquents engaged in different kinds of enterprise such as road-making and construction of dams and embankments is worthy of being adopted on a large scale in the country. In the Open Prisoner's Camp

in Varanasi where they have taken part in the building of a bridge and embankment in day and night shifts without any police surveillance, India has launched a new experiment where correction rests on the improvement of individual morale through emulation in both constructive group enterprise and recreation.

Like correctional labour camps agricultural colonies or cooperative farms of delinquents should also be started. Education for citizenship, community theatrical, music and sport in these wall-less prisons may lead to a high percentage of rehabilitation. Facilities should also be provided in such colonies for normal sex and family life for the inmates; which they may be moved to another district or work colony with better social standards. The entire Indian penology should be reviewed on the basis of the consideration that there is no valid reason why method appropriate for dealing with juvenile delinquents should not be applied to adult offenders.

DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH OF CORRECTIONAL WORK IN AN INDIAN STATE SINCE THE PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY - A STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH OF CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND PRACTICES IN UTTAR PRADESH

FROM 1937 TO 1954.

SUSHIL CHANDRA

Penal Reform and Correctional Work

The foundation of Correctional Work and Practices are firmly laid in an effective penal reform movement. To appraise and evaluate the existing correctional institutions and practices in a country it is imperative to have an adequate understanding of the penal and correctional trends in their historical setting. In the sphere of prison and penal reform and correctional work, Uttar Pradesh has ever been a pioneer State as is evident from a large number of correctional schemes and novel experiments that have been launched in that State since the thirties of the present century.

The Penal Reform Movement in Uttar Pradesh, formerly known as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (U. P.), dates back to the United Provinces Jails Enquiry Committee in 1929. It would be desirable to have a brief retrospect of the Penal Reform Movement in India as a background study to the penal advance in Uttar Pradesh.

Constitutional Changes and the Penal Reform Movement

In August 1914 the British Empire went to War against the Central

Powers led by Germany. The people and princes of India pledged their loyalty to the British Crown and came forward with men and money in the successful prosecution of the Great War. Thousands of Indian soldiers lost their lives in the various theatres of War in Europe, Middle East and Africa. Millions of Rupees in cash and war materials were contributed by India towards the successful culmination of the Great Offensive. During the first two years of the outbreak of the War there was almost no agitation for political concessions to Indians. The Irish Revolt of 1916 and the eloquent speech of its leader, Sir Roger Casement, quickened and sharpened Indian Nationalism. Nehru, in his autobiography says, "Roger Casement's wonderful speech at his trial in 1916 seemed to point out exactly how a member of a subject nation should feel". The speeches of the British leaders of this time reiterated that they were fighting for the principle of the self-determination of nations. In the early period of the war, British officials made speeches promising generous measures of constitutional reform. In the meantime, the Home Rule Movement initiated by Mrs. Annie Besant was gathering momentum. The Indian National Congress and the Muslim League both held their annual meetings in Lucknow in Decem-

ber 1916. The resultant Lucknow Pact of 1916 demanded of the British Government that India should be granted the status of a self-governing entity within the British Empire. The British Government would have control over Defence and External Affairs while Indian members of the government would have control over legislation in Central Government and full control over all matters in the provincial governments. Inspite of this demand the British Government remained unmoved until Lord Chelmsford took over as Governor-General and Viceroy of India in April 1916 and recommended a greater measure of India self-government.

In June 1917 Edwin Samuel Montagu, a former under-Secretary of State for India, severely criticized the British Government for the existing Indian system of Government. Austen Chamberlain, the then Secretary of State for India, resigned and Montagu took over as the new Secretary of State. On August 20, 1917, Montagu announcing the Indian policy in the House of Commons declared, "The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government as an integral part of the British Empire." Montagu proceeded to India in November 1917 to study first-hand the Indian constitutional situation. His tour attracted much attention in India and abroad. The investigations were completed by April 1918 and the Report commonly known as the Montford Report (Montagu-Chelmsford Report) jointly signed by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy of India was published in July 1918. After many discussions, parleys, committee meetings and debates in the British Parliament the Go-

vernment of India Act 1919 was placed on the Statute Book.

The new Act ushered in an era of constitutional and political reforms in India. It is not very necessary to go into the details of the various changes except to examine the salient changes and how they influenced the Penal Reform Movement in India and its various Provinces. The Act of 1919 established a bicameral legislature at the Center consisting of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. Franchise was restricted and the Governor-General could over-ride the will of the elected majority by the power of certification. In the Province, a Provincial legislature was set up of which 70% members were elected by the people and 30% were nominated or exofficio members of the Government. The governmental administration was of a dual nature in which the departments were classified as "Reserved" and "Transferred". In the reserved category were such departments as Justice, Police, Prison and Finance under the control of the Governor and his executive Council; while Education, Local Self-government, Sanitation, Health and Agriculture were transferred to the Indian Ministers who were elected representatives of the people. This bifurcation of the Governmental Administration into two halves was called Dyarchy.

Under such a political and constitutional atmosphere India entered into a phase of prison and penal reform. In an attempt to improve the prison and penal system of the country, the Government of India set up a Committee, known as the Indian Jails Committee in 1919. Sir Alexander Cardew, an important member of the Civil Service was appointed as Chairman with some Indians as members of the Committee. It may be of interest to recapitulate here that Edwin Samuel

Montague came to India in 1917 to study first hand the Indian Constitutional situation before he, along with Chelmsford, submitted his report on Indian Constitutional Reform in 1918. The pattern set by the Secretary of State for India was imbibed by Alexander Cardew before submitting his report on prison and penal reform in India. The Indian Jails Committee of 1919 visited penal institutions in Great Britain, United States of America, Japan, Philippines, Hong Kong, Burma and India. The tour of this Committee was the most extensive tour of enquiries and investigations into the Indian prison conditions ever undertaken in this country. No significant prison institution in any Province of India, then including the area covered by the present Pakistan, was left over by the observations of this Committee.

The work of this Committee is embodied in its report which remains up to this day the most important and monumental work on prison and penal reform in India. The present-day prison administration in all Indian States is mainly based on the various recommendations of this Committee. The prison administration in India was sought to be put in line with that of some of the advanced countries of the world the Committee had the benefit to visit.

The time of the release of the Report of the Indian Jails Committee coincided with constitutional changes brought about by the enforcement of the Government of India Act, 1919. The enforcement of this Act effected the transfer of Jail Department from control of the Government of India to that of the Provincial Governments. Prisons, under the Provincial Dyarchy, were rendered a provincial reserved subject. They were the charge of the Provincial Governments and changes to be introduced in the prison administration since then became the responsibili-

lity and concern of the respective Provincial Governments. Penal and Prison Reform movement, which had shown a great promise at the time of the Indian Jails Committee of 1919, received a tremendous setback as Government of India transferred the Prison Administration to the Provincial Governments. As prisons were the charge of the Provincial Governments, changes to be introduced in the prison administration since then became the responsibility and concern of the respective provincial governments.

U. P. Jails Enquiry Committee 1929

In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, now known as the Uttar Pradesh, (U. P.), penal matters were for the first time discussed almost after a decade of the Indian Jails Committee of 1919. The foundation of the Penal Reform Movement in U. P. were laid in the recommendations of the U. P. Jails Enquiry Committee, 1929, which was presided over by Sir Louis Stuart, first Chief Justice of the erstwhile Chief Court of Oudh with two prominent Indians of the Province, Pandit Jagat Narain Mulla and Hafiz Hidayat Husain as members.

The terms of reference of this Committee were to enquire into and report on " a) the Jails administration in these provinces in general with particular reference to the present state of discipline; (b) the organization of the Jail Services with particular reference to the management of Central Prisons and the larger district Jails; (c) the adequacy of supervision; (d) the possibility of expansion of education of Juvenile prisoners and of vocational training and (e) any cognate matters."

The report of this Committee has a special significance in as much as problems in respect of prison institutions in U. P., prison administration, classification of prisoners and prisons,

punishment and discipline, reformatory influences inside the Jail, measures to prevent admission to prisons, prison hygiene, separate treatment to Juvenile and adolescent offenders and prisoners' complaints, were for the first time discussed in relation to the conditions prevailing in U. P.

Keeping in view the terms of reference it would be of interest to study the salient recommendations of the U. P. Jails Enquiry Committee, 1929. The Committee recommended the appointment of a Deputy Inspector General of Prisons to assist the Inspector General of Prisons in administering the U. P. Jails; the appointment of whole-time Superintendents for the larger District Jails; establishment of training schools for prison personnel; a proper system for the classification of prisoners; a proper classification of Central Prisons whereby habituals and non-habituals are confined in separate prisons, enactment of the Borstal Act and the establishment of the Borstal institutions; introduction of a progressive stage system; introduction of machinery in Jails for industrial purposes, the introduction of a probation system and the appointment of probation officers; establishment of Discharged Prisoner's Aid Societies in each district; more facilities to prisoners to be provided in respect of diet, clothing, bedding conservancy, water supply, lighting, medical treatment, a proper classification of prisons and prisoners and the extension and construction of Jail buildings.

The Report of this Committee mark a forward step in penal reform movement in U.P. A close study of the above recommendations shows the tremendous influence of the Report of the Indian Jails Committee 1919 on the work done by the U. P. Jails Enquiry Committee 1929. The Committee interpreted the 1919 Report in terms of the needs of

U. P. Jails and trends in Correctional Work in the sphere of Juvenile and Adolescent Delinquency abroad. Most of the recommendations of this Committee remained inoperative and in cold storage until the penal reform movement received an impetus in 1937 on the establishment of the Provincial Autonomy.

Provincial Autonomy and the Penal Reform Movement

Indian political aspirations were far in excess of Provincial Dyarchy or the Dual Government in the Provinces. The two decades, the twenties and thirties of the present century, were an era of great political unrest, mass movements, boycott of British goods, paralyzation of British trade and commerce in India, political parleys, conferences and meetings in India and England. The Indian National Congress, the largest political organization in India, pledged itself to wrest power from the British government. On January 26, 1930, thousands of Indians signed the pledge of complete independence. During the congress struggle for the liberation of the country from the grips of a foreign power, all votaries of independence voluntarily courted arrest and imprisonment time and again. Thousands of educated and public spirited men and women were thrown into prisons during the Civil Disobedience Movement. When they came out they were embittered by their personal experiences and sufferings. They critically observed what they saw within the prisons and when out of it they eloquently and feelingly described what they had seen.

After a round of Round Table Conferences in London, the British Government drafted a proposed constitution for India known as the White Paper in March 1933. After a prolonged parliamentary activity the Government of India Bill 1935 received the Royal

Assent and became the law. In India's new constitution established under the Government of India Act 1935, there was division of functions and subjects between the Central Government and the Provincial Governments. A bicameral legislature—The Council of States and the Legislative Assembly were established at the Center. The desired Federation at the Center could not be established due to the opposition of the Princes of the Indian States who most unconsciously hastened the process of their disintegration. The Viceroy thereafter proceeded to implement the Act of 1935 in the Provinces.

The new Act abolished the much abhorred Provincial Dyarchy and Provincial Autonomy was substituted instead. The Provinces were given a new status with a government responsible to the legislature and the people, of course under a British Governor who was empowered to take over the administration of his Province in a state of emergency. Congress, the largest political party, decided to contest the elections and was returned to power in an overwhelming majority in eight out of the eleven "governors, provinces of British India. On the assumption of power by the Congress Ministry in 1937 attention was focused on the hitherto neglected prison and penal problems and an era of active penal reform commenced in the United Provinces now known as the Uttar Pradesh, the Northern State of India.

Growth and Development of Correctional Work from 1937 to 1939

The period 1937-39 is a milestone in Penal Reform and Correctional Work in U. P. During this short period the Government of U. P. appointed three Committees to examine the question of introduction of reforms in the prison system which according to the new dispensation was the sole responsibility of the Provincial Government;

three important pieces of legislation were passed giving new correctional practices to the Province; three new service cadres were set up; and three institutions were established to accelerate correctional work and to place it on a scientific footing.

The three Committees were the Expert Committee on Jail Reforms which was appointed in December 1937 and submitted its report in 1938. The Second Committee was the United Provinces Jails Reforms Committee 1938. This consisted of some members of the Legislative Assembly who examined the report of the Expert Committee. The Third Committee was the Departmental Jail Committee 1939. This Committee was the most important of the three committees on Prison and Penal Reform from 1937-39. The Departmental Jail Committee examined the reports of the earlier committees and made recommendations regarding the implementation of various measures and schemes. This committee was presided over by the late Gopi Nath Srivastava, Parliamentary Secretary for Jails with the Inspector General of Prisons and the senior-most Superintendent of Central Prison as members. In the short space of this paper it is not possible to discuss the terms of reference and the recommendations of the various committees. The correctional advance made in the state, a detailed narrative of which is to follow, was mainly based on the implementation of the recommendations of the 1939 Expert Committee.

The three important pieces of legislation during the period were :

1. U. P. First Offender's Probation Act (Act VI of 1938).
2. U. P. Borstal Act (Act VII of 1938).
3. U. P. Prisoner's Release on Probation Act (Act VIII of 1938).

These enactments provided a new philosophy and a change in outlook in penal matters. The First Offender's Probation Act aimed at preventing the first offenders from being sent to Jail. The conditional release was either with or without supervision. Juvenile and adolescent offenders were mostly released under the supervision of the Probation Officer in the major districts of the Province. Thus a new social experiment, hitherto unknown and unthought of, was very boldly launched. The Borstal Act aimed at an institutional treatment of the adolescent offender by the introduction of a progressive stage system. The Prisoners Release on Probation Act gave a new Parole System to the Province and kindled hope and faith in such well-behaved prisoners who had completed one-third period of sentence. Such prisoners could be conditionally released on parole.

These enactments were bold pieces of legislation which paved the way for the introduction of new correctional practices and much scientific discussion and enlightenment of public opinion on penal reform and correctional work.

It was during this period that three new service cadres were created to implement prison reform and to undertake correctional work. A whole-time service of Superintendent of First Class District Jails was set up. Prior to this the Civil Surgeon also functioned as the part-time Superintendent of the District Jail. The Civil Surgeon with his heavy medical, surgical and medico-legal responsibilities could hardly devote such attention as was needed for district prison administration. A prerequisite to the improvement of prison conditions was the appointment of whole-time Superintendents who could devote much time and attention to the district prison administration and correctional work.

Another service cadre established during the period was the whole-time service of District Probation Officers in the major districts of the State with a Chief Probation Officer at the Provincial Headquarters. This service was created to implement the U. P. First Offenders Probation Act (Act VI of 1938). The ideology of probation and a separate treatment to the juvenile and adolescent offenders with a view to bring about their correction, reformation and rehabilitation began to radiate and became acceptable to the Judiciary and the people of the Province.

The third service was the appointment of officers for the newly created Proclamation Department. One of the major criminological problems on which attention was focused during this period was the problem of the Criminal Tribes. Certain tribes were declared criminal and their members were subjected to much degradation and humiliation. A child, by virtue of his birth as a member of the Criminal Tribe, was doomed to a life of surveillance. The Government appointed a committee known as the Tewari Committee to enquire into the conditions of the Criminal Tribes in the Province. A separate department for the reclamation of these tribes was set up at the Headquarters of the U. P. Government. A Reclamation Officer with four Group Officers, three Panchayat Officers, two colony supervisors and thirteen senior and seven junior organizers, was appointed for correctional work among the Criminal Tribes.

Among some of the new institutions set up during the period were the U.P. Discharged Prisoners Aid Society, a training school for prison officers and a separate Reclamation Department.

The U. P. Discharged Prisoners Aid Society was established in 1938 with District Committees at the headquarters

of each district. The society was organized to implement the U. P. First Offender's Probation Act and to undertake after-care work. From its very inception the society was actively engaged in creating a sound public opinion on penal matters and correctional work through the medium of a Journal the first of its kind in the country, and the publication of tracts, pamphlets and books from time to time. Perhaps motivated by the modern ideology of Social Defence, the society has redesignated itself as the U. P. Crime Prevention Society with the Home Minister as the President and a non-official chairman and an Honorary Secretary.

A training school for the prison personnel, a detailed scheme for which was formulated in 1939, was inaugurated in August 1940. For the first time in the country the prison officers were imparted instructions in Crimono-logy, Penology, Juvenile Delinquency, Psychology, Prison Adminisration, Hygiene, Agriculture, building and all matters pertaining to the routine of prison administration. The underlying idea back of the establishment of this institution was that prison officers have to be scientifically trained if correctional work is to be undertaken effectively.

In September 1939 War broke out on the continent of Europe and the conflagration enveloped the whole of the world. The popular Governments went out of office in eight provinces on the issue of war. Thus an era of active penal reform in the Province almost came to an abrupt close. During this short space of two years from 1937-39, the remarkable achievements of the period are the establishment of new institutions, enactment of social legislation and establishment of new service Cadres which gave to the Province a new orientation to the penal philosophy and new and scientific correctional methods and practices.

Penal Reform and Correctional Work from 1946 to 1954

On the cessation of World War II, India was moving fast in the direction of complete independence and the vive-section of the country into India and Pakistan.

On the resumption of power the Congress Government in U. P. set itself upon the task left unfinished by it in 1939. Two committees, namely, the U. P. Jail Reforms Committee 1946 and the U. P. Criminal Tribes Enquiry Committee, 1947 were appointed.

The U. P. Jail Reforms Committee 1946 placed greater emphasis on the problem of a separate treatment for juvenile and adolescent offenders. Measures for the prevention of crime, reformatory measures and amenities to prisoners, improvement of Jail industries and agriculture, proper system of classification of prisoners, better treatment of prisoners, establishment of a Model Prison for Star Class Prisoners, establishment of Discharged Prisoner's Homes in all important towns and a general drive to enlist the support of all employers of labour in providing work to deserving discharged prisoners, are some of the salient recommendations of the Committee.

The U. P. Criminal Tribes Enquiry Committee unanimously recommended the total repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act in the Province. It further recommended the enactment of a Habitual Offender's and Vagrant's Act, which will be applicable to all such offenders without distinction of any sort. Indeterminate sentence with a minimum and maximum term for habitual offenders had also been proposed. A separate Jail should be established for the confinement of habitual offenders with three sections meant for the complete segregation of the three categories of habitual offenders, namely, (1) those

who become habitual offenders despite of good family environment; (2) those who take to criminality on account of the environment and family traditions; and (3) vagrants without any settled occupation. The reorganization of Panchayats and the appointment of Panchayat Inspectors and of Group Officers and the reorganization of settlements with Advisory Committees were recommended.

The period is marked for the establishment of new institutions and the launching of new correctional experiments.

One of the achievements of the period was the setting up of a Model Prison in 1949 by converting the Lucknow Central Prison. The Model Prison is meant for long term Star Class Prisoners who are kept in a Reception Center for six months where they are properly screened before they are allowed to work in a comparatively free atmosphere earning their wage and paying back to the State for the cost of their maintenance in the Jail. The Model Prison provides a great incentive to Star Class Prisoners through the offer of comparative freedom and working conditions almost identical to those prevailing outside in the farm and the industry. Prisoners can be kept on maximum, medium and minimum security depending upon the individual's progress. A prisoner starts with maximum security which implies strict watch and ward both by day and night. On showing satisfactory progress the security measures are gradually and progressively relaxed and the prisoner is allowed to live and work inside and outside the Jail without any watch and ward both by day and night. From minimum security they pass into a stage of no security as they work as watchmen in the farm and go out to the market to sell the produce unescorted by the prison guard. The Model

Prison also acts as a Training Center for training convict teachers and nursing orderlies from amongst the ranks of prisoners who on completion of their training act as teachers and nursing orderlies in other Prison Schools and Prison Hospital in the State.

The boldest correctional experiment, in the annals of penal reform and correctional work in India, was launched in 1952 with the novel conception of Dr. Sampurnanand, the then Home Minister and now the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. An open camp for 2,000 prisoners was opened in Varanasi District on the banks of Chandra-Prabha river. Dr. Sampurnanand conceived that the association of convicts with the nation-building projects will be an important medium in the correction and rehabilitation of the individual offender. The prisoner who works as a free labourer in the national construction program, apart from earning a wage and working in free conditions, gets the feel that he is a co-equal partner in national reconstruction. This feel is of utmost importance if a one-time prisoner is trained and re-educated in a correctional institution to take his place as a citizen on his release. Only such a program can aim at complete rehabilitation. The salient features of the Camp, as in the official brochure, are that "the prisoners will be able to live more or less as free men without being subject to the irritating presence of wardens, chowkidars (prison guards) and policemen. The camp provides for complete freedom of movement and association. There are no guards watching them at all hours of the day and night. No one is prodding them to bend their back and work. There are no barracks and cells and enclosures. No gates close in upon the inmates. The attempt is to draw out their inherent desire to work and to ease their way through life.... The scheme is that out of the total daily wages earned by a prisoner, a part will be kept

as savings to be handed over to him on release. The prisoner pays for his meals. The rest is given to him so that he may spend, if he likes, on small items which he can buy at the Canteen.... the main purpose of the scheme is to reform criminals so that they do not have to follow a career of crime."

The members of the Camp at Chandra-Prabha, by their excellent work and discipline fully justified the confidence reposed by the Home Minister in them. The success of the Camp at Chandra-Prabha encouraged Dr. Sampurnanand to open another Open Prisoners Camp at Naugarh in Varanasi District with 3,000 prisoners. Up to 1954 as many as 8,000 prisoners had the benefit of working in the open prisoners camp. Of these there was quite a high percentage of prisoners who had been awarded life imprisonment (lifers) and had put in a term of three years or so in the Jail. The confidence reposed in them has amply been justified which is evident from the fact that there were only twenty escapees—probably the lowest in any open prisoners camp in the world.

A glimpse into the camp may be of some interest. The staff is carefully selected from amongst trained workers so as to suit the special needs of the camp. There is a Welfare Officer from each batch of 100 to 150 prisoners whose duty is to live with them and organize the activities and understand the needs of his men. The Welfare Officer is the friend, philosopher and guide of prisoners under his charge. The prisoners selected for the Camp are carefully screened from all Jails in the State. The prisoners are finally screened at the Reception Center and given proper orientation for the Camp life. They are sent to the Camp site without police escort on motor buses and vans, sometimes driven by prisoners themselves. The members of the

Camp are provided with modern amenities of electricity, radio, record player and are supplied with musical instruments and articles of games and sports. They organize their own recreational program and run a canteen. They are allowed to purchase their toilet requisites, special articles of food, tobacco, shoes and other such materials out of their wage money. The Camp has a well equipped hospital. Sanitation of the Camp is the responsibility of the Sanitary Inspector. The Education Officer and his assistants are responsible for the education of the members of the Camp.

In addition to the wages, prisoners get special remission of 30 days for a month at the Camp subject to the maximum of half the sentence. Out of the wages earned, a small percentage is deducted toward their maintenance. The balance is credited to his account out of which he can make purchases from the Canteen or send money to his family or draw the amount at the time of his release. The prisoners are also allowed to leave and are permitted to go out for hiking, swimming and sight-seeing.

This is a brief description of the Open Prisoners Camp, a very bold experiment in Penal Reform and Correctional Work in India. The Camp has been named "Sampurnanand Shivir" after the name of Dr. Sampurnanand, who conceived this idea and implemented the same as Home Minister of Uttar Pradesh. "Sampurnanand Shivir"—the open Prisoners Camp—or the wall-less Prisons of Uttar Pradesh are another mile-stone in the Penal Reform Movement and Correctional Practices in India.

Broad trends in Penal reform and Correctional work

A brief retrospect of the origin and evolution of the prison system in India

with special reference to Uttar Pradesh shows that in the midnineteenth century which was an era of construction and consolidation of the management of prison in India the entire emphasis was on Mass Treatment and Safe Custody.

The first Central Prison in India was constructed at Agra in 1846. This was followed by five others at Bareilly and Naini in 1848, Varnasi and Fatehgarh in 1864 and Lucknow in 1867. The 1838 Committee, which proposed the construction of such prisons, recommended that Central Prisons should be constructed to accomodate one thousand prisoners of over one year's sentence. It is highly significant that Central Prisons, which were to serve as concentration centers for long term convicts, were constructed at places where the British garrisons were stationed in cantonments. The purpose in choosing these cities, perhaps, was that in case of an emergency such as a mutiny in the prison, the army could be summoned to quell the disturbances. The solid and strong walls of the present Model Prison, formerly the Lucknow Central Prison, are clearly visible from the barracks in the Lucknow cantonment in which prior to the Indian Independence, was housed the British soldier. The prison programme was highly regimented and the distance between the prisoners and the staff was very great.

Incidentally, the mid-nineteenth century was also the period when the Positive school of Criminology and Penology with the Lombrosian theories of the born criminal, condemning the prisoner to a state of being beyond redemption, had gripped the whole of Europe and consequently had severe repurcussions on the colonies and dependencies in the East. The dangerous human creature was, therefore, condemned to the high walls, grated doors and the cells.

With the rise of the Clinical School of Criminology and Penology and the discovery of the individual delinquent by Dr. William Healy the way was paved for the Individual Treatment of the offender, an antithesis of the former approach toward the criminals. In the wake of the new ideology many penal practices and correctional institutions such as probation, parole, indeterminate sentence, reformatories, juvenile courts, remand homes, certified schools, bortal institutions, child guidance clinics, correctional colonies and farms, after-care associations and different court procedure and a host of other such institutions have come into existence in many parts of the world. The demands of the individual treatment are varied and many and are not in commensuration with the meagre resources available for the purpose. A really effective individualized treatment entails heavy expenditure.

The future of correctional work now rests on Social Group Work. Group work is a basic method in social work practice. It aims at the individual self-fulfillment in social relationships and helps in the establishment of complete and satisfying relationships. The unit of work is the group. The Correctional Worker is a group worker who has an insight into the group and there is a state of complete response between him and the group. Group work as a therapy in the correction, re-education and rehabilitation of the juvenile, adolescent and adult offenders holds very great promise. The very best example of group work in correction is the Sampurnanand Shibir at Chakia. The programmes in the institutions for juvenile and adolescent offenders have to be so modified as to utilize the potentialities of the group for the development of an integrated personality of the individual offender. Uttar Pradesh has already indicated the direction in which correctional work for juvenile, adolescent and adult offenders has to be organized.

ENTER PRISONER - EXIT CITIZEN

JAMES V. BENNETT

There is a tradition among architects who plan noble buildings to seek out words and phrases which may be carved upon doorways and pediments to symbolize the purpose to which the structure is dedicated. We can note this in the phrase "Equal Justice Under Law" carved above the magnificent columns of the Supreme Court. And so it was that when the Terre Haute Penitentiary was in process of construction, the architects sought a phrase which could be placed over the main gateway of the institution. There were numerous suggestions, some allegedly humorous and some serious. The grim phrase, "Abandon hope all ye who enter here" was a cynical contribution of one person. Another and more perceptive individual suggested: "All Experience is an Arch to Build Upon." But had my suggestion been taken it would be "Enter Prisoner - Exit Citizen."

All the same, this is the theme of this paper. For the purpose of correction and parole in turning prisoners into citizens will not be considered naive or something that cannot be achieved in our day.

All of us — prison wardens, parole officials, law enforcement people — want the man who enters the prison gates today to leave tomorrow a law-abiding members of the community. Those in the field of parole are particularly anxious that the man who appears before them is ready to meet the challenges which he will face upon release and that he will not be embittered by his prison experience. To

bring about the changes that will convert the prisoner into a citizen, however, requires vastly more than slogans or expressions of pious hopes. It is not achieved by tapping the man on the shoulder and saying, "Go thou and sin no more." Building character is a tough, realistic job which challenges every skill and every bit of knowledge we have gained. More, it demands infinite patience and understanding. And parole, of course, cannot be successful unless prisons and parole agencies working together find ways to provide opportunities for the prisoner to equip himself with skills, reestablish his self-respect and a healthy regard for the law. Teaching a man to be a law-abiding citizen requires, importantly, that he come to realize that he cannot outwit our law enforcement agencies.

We need not give figures to show how far short of transforming prisoners into citizens we have so far fallen. Ours is a trying enough job as it is without focusing continuously on the dark statistical picture indicating how many men return to prison for a post-graduate course. Instead of adding up the number of men who enter the prison gates who have previously served some prior sentence, let us take credit for the number of men who leave our adult correctional institutions never to return. When you consider the handicaps the ex-prisoner faces you wonder how it is that so many of them make good. Moreover, focusing on the man who enters as a defeated, warped, hostile prisoner and then becomes a citizen

helps us pinpoint and emphasize the positive approach. Something is badly needed in our work. To be sure, we must not fool ourselves as we do this by overlooking the fact that we know little more about how to change the behaviour of some individuals than the doctors know about how to cure cancer. Unreachable and habitual offenders have to be quarantined as long as the law permits or until they have matured to the point where their unlawful drives are blunted.

The success of parole depends upon many things. But one fact frequently overlooked is that a parole system cannot rise above the level of institutions from which parolees are released. It follows, therefore, that the primary function of the correctional institution is to provide opportunities through which the prisoner may equip himself with skills and reestablish his self-respect.

That prisons have not been highly successful in this task is true. We must admit that many of our prisons have few and unfortunately some have none of the elements which can have a constructive influence on offenders. Nor can we deny that no correctional institution is as efficient as possible, even under our present state of knowledge. We are, of course, making appreciable progress. That the quality of our top leadership is improving is clear to all who have been witness to the changes that have occurred in the last 15 or 20 years.

The recent prison disturbances, among other things, have placed a high premium upon qualified administrators. Fortunately also officials are not now looking for brawn to quell riots but the ability and knowledge and wherewithal to develop constructive programs. Legislators and budgetary authorities are also begin-

ning to recognize that the custodial personnel can make or break an institution's correctional program and that competent personnel must be paid for the services performed. However, retirement plans in only a few places are making it possible to release the superannuated without destroying the morale of the remaining personnel.

There have been important steps too in the organization of training programs for institutional personnel. Several prison systems have made significant strides in the organization of continuous in-service training courses. This training not only stresses the development of practical know-how in such basic matters as custodial security but it provides the worker with a foundation of understanding of the broader implications of institutional work and his place in the institution's program. A number of our colleges and universities are working closely with correctional administrators in developing intensive training for young men and women who wish to prepare themselves for professional careers.

One of the most interesting developments has been the organization of summer institutes which bring together men and women from different areas of our work to exchange experience and improve their skills. These have served also to reinforce tremendously the feelings of unity between correctional workers, parole board personnel, and field supervisors. Thus they have promoted greater understanding of the common purposes we share.

However, the improvements which have come about in recent years leave no room for complacency. In the area of diagnostic and training and treatment personnel we face both austerity and scarcity. As one goes about from

one institution to another he is amazed at the lack of verified data the average correctional institution has about its inmates. There are 185,000 men and women in our prisons and reformatories, not counting about 100,000 in jails and some 30,000 in juvenile training schools. The annual turnover among adult offenders is about half that number. In other words, there are about 90,000 felony cases a year to be diagnosed and classified. And how many people do we have to do this? According to the data reported to our statistical division, there are probably not more 35 or 40 full time psychiatrists, about 60 psychologists, not more than 150 full time medical officers, possibly 400 social workers, sociologists and institutional parole officers, and a mere handful employment-placement officers. These are distributed irregularly among the nearly 200 state and Federal penitentiaries, reformatories and camps.

The very keystone of the whole correctional process is the personnel but let there be no mistake about it, adequate staffing of correctional institutions costs money. Without the personnel to study the offender and to plan realistically with him for his future, institutional treatment cannot be more than stultifying time serving.

Next in importance to the personnel are the physical facilities. Prisons have an antiquity and a survival quotient which far exceeds that of any other public structure. Can we think of any contemporary counterpart in the field of hospitals, schools, factories that depend upon modern methods to accomplish their objectives which have not been discarded or modernized? Take Missouri for example. In 1956 the author visited the Missouri State Prison at Jefferson City. It was here, we had one of the most serious and costly riots in the history of prisons. The author went into one of the antique and depressing

cell houses being used for the older prisoners. It is an ancient hulk, five stories high, with tomb-like cells that require one to bend down as he enters lest he bang his head. Some of the doors are tremendous affairs with iron straps that supplement but slightly the little light that comes through a heavily barred 10" x 10" window. The galleries and roof are of wood that makea it fire trap. Moreover, there is little in the way of work or a treatment program. The author's good friend Colonel Jim Carter is struggling to make it less depressing and less of what he calls a crime breeder. But unless we can persuade a reluctant legislature that the people of Missouri will profit by treating their prisoners humanely and constructively there seems little hope to make citizens in such an environment.

And Missouri is by no means the only place where modern correctional facilities have not kept pace with current needs. Antiquated bastilles built when penal philosophy demanded only sufficient space for penitence are still with us. Huge factory-like institutions confining from 2,500 to over 6,000 prisoners stand as barriers to individual treatment. Prisons overcrowded beyond the limits of human decency; prisons into which are thrown the indiscriminate grist of the courts - the young and aged, the physically incapacitated and mentally incompetent, the confirmed and the inexperienced offender, are still a part of the American prison scene. And we in the Federal system are not without similar problems. Our large institutions at Leaven-worth, Atlanta and McNeil Island are seriously overcrowded. With the strong support of Attorney General Brownell this situation was brought to the attention of President Eisenhower who has recommended to Congress that seventeen million dollars be made available for

a new maximum custody Federal prison and a youth guidance center to serve the western section of the country. Thus President Eisenhower and Attorney General Brownell have demonstrated their determination to protect the public on the one hand from hardened and unregenerate criminals and on the other provide every facility to salvage and rehabilitate the young and disadvantaged.

It is encouraging indeed to note similar efforts to modernize our correctional system elsewhere. The past few years have witnessed more progress in tearing down the obsolete and building new and more functional correctional institutions than during the previous half century. The 150 year old Charlestown, Massachusetts prison has just closed its doors. The infamous Angola in Louisiana has, under the driving and humane leadership of Governor Kennon and his able associate Reed Cozart, been replaced by a modern structure at a most reasonable cost. New Mexico's old high walled penitentiary is being replaced. Connecticut, California, Texas, Rhode Island, Colorado, Ohio, Pennsylvania and a number of other states are also bringing their facilities and program up-to-date.

But perhaps of even greater importance is the trend away from maximum custody institutions for all offenders to open, or minimum custody institutions. Experience has shown us that camps and institutions such as Chino in California and our Seagoville institution in Texas can retain offenders who were previously thought to require high walls. The institutions produce a climate conducive to the acceptance of responsibility and the preparation of the prisoner for citizenship. Such institutions help the individual develop resources for the best kind of discipline - namely, self-discipline. Yet the traditional prison,

with its custodial restraints and regimentation, has placed a premium upon dependency. The establishment of an increasing number of small, open institutions is rapidly changing that picture. In many jurisdictions in the United States today, hundreds of prisoners are discovering the road back to self-respect and self-reliance in forestry and agricultural camps and in the small, more formally organized minimum custody institutions. These institutions, incidentally, have proven valuable not only for offenders with relatively short sentences, but also as a place where the long sentenced offender has an opportunity to make a transition from the close custody institution to the freedom of the streets. We have also come a long way in the development of various treatment measures. Time was when the institutional chaplain was the sum of all treatment resources. He served as record clerk, librarian, teacher, recreation director, counsellor and on Sunday he preached sermons. Today the chaplain has joined the treatment team and works hand in hand with the psychologist, the caseworker and the teacher. Education and vocational training are also being given new emphasis. Another useful tool in correctional treatment is group therapy. The successful experience of the military service in the use of group treatment methods are slowly finding their application in institutions.

The area in which we have made the least progress has been that of providing realistic work programs. Idleness is still the most serious problem with which the prison administrator must cope. In most prisons routine maintenance work and farming cannot absorb the full labor potential. The expansion of the state-use system which permits the manufacture of goods for the sale to state agencies seems to offer the best hope for reduc-

ing idleness and giving meaningful employment to able-bodied prisoners. Until some practical means are found to harness the productive energies of the men and women in our prisons and give them the sense of achievement which must come from jobs well done, prisons will still be hobbled in their task of building citizens.

We are also learning the importance of helping the prisoner resolve some of the problems he will face upon discharge while he is still in the institution. He becomes more and more nervous, anxious, disturbed, as his day of release approaches. It is then he needs help, advice, and support not threats, preachments or dire predictions. Many of them have been in prison a long time and know little about job opportunities, employment agencies, attitudes of labour unions, or community resources. Showing the prisoner how to present his case to a prospective employer most effectively, advising him about revealing his arrest record and reconciling him to acceptance of the handicaps he will meet on discharge are of the utmost importance in turning prisoners into citizens. We have, in short, accumulated a substantial body of knowledge about the ways in which our prisons and reformatories can do a better job. But we have not consolidated our gains.

There is perhaps no more costly waste of public funds than that which results when an offender has, as the prisoners phrase it, done "life on the installment plan". That is a man who has been in and out of the hands of probation departments, juvenile institutions, jails, reformatories, and prisons all his life. It has been estimated that a man entering prison for the first time at the age of 20 who continues a life of crime and does life on the installment plan costs the people not less than \$ 40,000 in prison and

court costs alone. Therefore the plans for parole must, if similar waste of money and effort are to be avoided, provide the capstone for the training and rehabilitative program which has brought the prisoner to the gateway to community.

As one goes about the country visiting various institutions he is continually amazed at the lack of a common understanding or a common language with respect to parole. In some areas, particularly where juries mete out the sentence with little to go upon but what comes out in the trial, parole means resentencing the prisoner. In other jurisdictions like Washington, Colorado, California, Ohio and other areas where some form of the indeterminate sentence is in effect, parole is to all intents and purposes the accepted and general method of release. Eighty per cent or more of all releases in such states are by parole. In a few states even where parole boards exist parole is considered only as a substitute for pardon. Elsewhere it is used most conservatively with primary emphasis on public attitudes towards the offender and secondary attention only to the degree to which the prisoner is at his peak of readiness for release and seeks the help and guidance of a supervisory officer. Of course, these four methods are not mutually exclusive and many systems are a combination of all. A factor which confuses people about parole is the wide variation in criminal sanctions in the different states. We see this in the differences in the penalties assessed for specific offenses—from murder to stealing chickens. It can also be seen in the data on the time actually spent in prison for comparable offenses. In reviewing a recent statistical report the author noted that during 1951 the average time served for all felonies was 21 months. It ranged from 9 months in Vermont to 35 months in Illinois.

The same disparities come to light when the time served for specific crimes like murder, robbery, aggravated assault, or burglary are compared. The average time served for murder in Alabama is just short of four years, whereas in Illinois it is 17 years and 5 months. One other statistical illustration will serve to highlight these differences in point of view toward crime. The crime most frequently committed in this country is burglary and the legal definition of that offense is much the same throughout the country. If one is convicted of this crime in Colorado one can expect to serve 9 months. If one is sentenced in California for burglary one may look forward to some $2\frac{1}{2}$ years' imprisonment. In both states the prisoner usually goes out on parole but for periods of supervision little related to the time served. The result of course is confusion as to the meaning of parole.

There also seems to be confusion as to the attitude which the paroling authority should take toward the role of the institution. If parole board members assume that the principal function of imprisonment is to require men to discharge some debt to society,

the prisoner will soon learn that their highest obligation is to do time quietly. If, on the other hand, they are concerned with whether the applicant has used his capacities for self-improvement and has consciously moved in the directions of the goals which have been set for him, this too will influence the attitudes of the prisoner toward the institutions and its program.

All of this seems to boil down to one final conclusion. Just as no parole system can be isolated or operate in a vacuum and the whole process of making citizens out of prisoners must be unified—so must all of us—prosecutors, judges, police officials, institutional and parole authorities, be united in our purposes and objectives. Each must help the other in finding the ways for control of crime and treatment of the offender.

Ours is not an easy job. It is frequently perplexing. It is not without its moments of discouragement. It requires money. But more than this it requires our most productive effort, almost limitless patience, and tolerant consideration of each other's point of view.

THE BUTYRKI JAIL IN MOSCOW

GOLTSEV

One early August morning our paper's Pobeda car stopped in front of a small grey gate on Novoslobodskaya Street in Moscow. A guard came out of the entrance gate and after examining our documents let us drive into the inner courtyard. After passing another gate we beheld an avenue densely lined with lime trees, leading to a building, which looked like a rural hospital of the old days. Quiet reigned all around. The green grass on the lawns was cut evenly. Jolly flocks of busy sparrows dashed up from the asphalted walks to the crests of the high brick walls. Outwardly nothing suggested that we were in the courtyard of the Butyrki Jail, the famous Butyrki about which the hundred-mouthed reactionary bourgeois press wrote so many cock-and-bull stories and continues to spread all kinds of fables today.

In the administration building we were met by Col. Kalinin, the jail warden.

"You want to see our institution and our wards?" he asked after shaking hands, "we'll be glad to show them to you. Of course, we don't run a holiday home or a hostel; we run a jail, and its rules and special system are designed to ensure execution of the sentence passed by the court, and keeping the criminals safely in custody".

We asked the colonel to tell us briefly of the type of jail it was.

"In our jail", Col. Kalinin said, "are kept people who have committed

crimes against the country and the people and are awaiting trial or are waiting to be sent to the place where they are to serve their sentence. While the rules are strict, they do not detract from or offend human dignity".

And now we are walking with Lt.-Col. Ivan Golovkin, assistant warden, through long corridors. The first thing that strikes your eye is the cleanliness. The office rooms, corridors, cells, kitchen, are all clean, so clean that they make you think of a medical institution. Daylight pours into the corridors and cells through large open but barred windows. Striking too are the small number of guards inside the jail.

Butyrki's inmates today are all felons, and the roads which brought them to jail are not the same. With some it was greed for money, with others drunken debauch, abuse of office, and so on. Their stories and fortunes differ and some are tragic. But each has committed a crime and that is why the state has isolated them from society.

In distributing the convicts in the blocks account is taken of the nature of their crime. Rowdies are kept in certain blocks, misappropriators of socialist property in others, and back-sliding thieves in other separate blocks. Bandits and burglars are strictly isolated from the others.

"Well, shall we get started?" Golovkin asked us. "In the cells in this corridor," he continued, "convicted

rowdies are kept. Which cell would you like to see?"

We indicated the first door we came to. The assistant warden called over the senior warden and told him to unlock the cell. We walked into a large block in which there were about a scores of prisoners. They wore street clothes and they looked healthy. They stood up when they saw the assistant warden. On learning that we were from a newspaper a lively conversation started at once. All who spoke told as they were sorry they had committed a crime and said they would try to atone for their crime against society by honest labour in jail or labour colony.

The Butyrki jail has its own large machine shops, a carpenter shop, laundry and other auxiliary workshops. The convicts work eight hours a day and six hours on Saturday. Each day of fulfilment of work quotas and good behaviour is counted as two or three days against the prison term. Convicts receive money remuneration for their work.

In the turning shop we saw two young men painstakingly fitting parts at the bench. One of them, Vlasov, was employed at the USSR art works studios and he is in for three years for brawling. On the wall in front of his bench is the figure 58 written in chalk. Working with a file next to Vlasov was the other young man, Pugachov, a Moscow factory worker. Rowdyism brought him first in the dock and then here in the jail's workshop. On the wall in front of him was the figure 989 also written in chalk.

We asked Vlasov what the figure meant and he willingly replied :

"This is how we keep a record of the days we have served under our

sentence. I have 58 days more to serve before I am free again".

"And I", Pugachov said bitterly, "another 989 days of jail. But I'll work hard, the work quotas are not too hard, and good work will get me out earlier".

It was now dinner time, and we went to the jail kitchen. It has the latest mechanical equipment. People wearing white smocks and caps pour the food into large thermos bottles. Here is the day's menu: breakfast—mashed potatoes with vegetable oil and herring; dinner—cabbage soup with meat and barley porridge, and supper—millet porridge with vegetable oil. That is the regular menu, but there is also a special menu for those who follow a diet prescribed by the prison doctor.

Around mid-day we found ourselves in the examination building. Here were militia officers, officials of the Procurator's Office and court representatives informing people in custody of the charges preferred against them. We witnessed magistrates Fariseyev and Cherkassov reading to a large gang, which looted 400 kilograms of gold, the charges against them.

Sitting in front of Fariseyev was a plain man wearing a white sleeveless jacket with the face of a dope fiend. He was intently reading the heavy files of his case, from time to time copying out something and then asking the examiner questions, to which he received detailed answers. The man was Magomet Aisin, leader of the gang. He was 32 and he had never worked anywhere. Under the weight of the evidence he confessed to his crimes, admitting that he had personally sold 117 kilograms of the stolen gold at 30 to 40 rubles a gram. The

large sums of money realized from the sale of the gold he kept in railway-station check rooms. In Novosibirsk, for instance, he checked a suitcase containing 240,000 rubles, and on one occasion he flung a suitcase containing 320,000 rubles at the legs of a militiaman who tried to arrest him.

"What did you do with the enormous lot of money?" we asked him.

"I lived like a lord, never counted money", he answered cynically.

Dangerous bandits and robbers are kept in the Butyrki jail under specially watchful guard. In one of the cells we made the acquaintance of Igor Mishin. He is only 24 and he has a record of three convictions. In 1950 he robbed a stall and got 12 years. In 1953 he was released from labour camp under an amnesty, and 10 months later he was arrested in Sverdlovsk for robbery, but managed to escape from the militia and went to Moscow, where he committed a number of daring robberies. He robbed people on the street of their watches and money, and burglarized homes. He was caught and sentenced to 20 years in prison.

Among the inmates of this jail are cheats and other swindlers and backsliding thieves. There are not many of them. Pyotr Trofimov, an old backslider with a record of 10 convictions and a total of 19 years spent in jail, told us much of the practices of the thieves' world. However, towards the end he said :

"Personally, I'm out of the game".

"Why?"

"Work is hard now. Young people don't find stealing romantic. Besides,

sentences are shorter now, and anybody who's got any brains can see that he can do better living an honest life. Lately the atmosphere has not been the right atmosphere for us".

Prisoners are permitted to receive parcels from relatives. The jail accepts food packages daily. Every prisoner has the right to get three parcels of up to six kilograms each per month. There are no restrictions on fruits and vegetables. Prisoners may be visited by their nearest relatives at fixed intervals.

Prisoners may address complaints or applications to the court, the Procurator's Office, Government, Party or other public organizations, and complaints against improper actions by jail officials are handed by the prisoners personally in sealed envelopes to the representatives of the Procurator's Office who have supervision over the jail.

In the evening we saw how the prisoners spend their leisure hours. In one block many were playing chess or checkers, or were reading newspapers.

Papers are supplied to the cells daily, and those who want to read books can get them from the library. The prison library is a large one, and on its shelves will be found works of Russian and foreign classical writers, works by Soviet writers, and novels and short stories by progressive American and Western-European writers. There is a considerable demand for secondary-school text-books and handbooks on automobiles.

The jail has its own food shop, and every prisoner, unless penalized for violating the rules, may buy 100 rubles' worth of food a month. Prisoners may buy any food they like.

We also looked over the prison's health institutions. It has its own clinic, dispensary, pharmacy and hospital. There is an excellent surgery, two dental offices, an X-ray room and electric treatment facilities. The capital's prominent doctors are used for consultation and for expert testimony.

The work of a doctor on the jail's staff is difficult and responsible, for he has to be watchful all the time. While looking after the health of the prisoners he has to be on guard so as to detect any tricks by convicts who often simulate illness in order to get out of paying the penalty.

Many of the things that have become regular features of our life are enjoyed by the prisoners in jail. True, there are certain restrictions and strict rules. After all, a jail is a jail. Every prisoner keenly feels his confinement. And severe disciplinary measures are applied against persistent violators of the rules. Those guilty are put in solitary confinement, deprived of the right to write or receive letters or parcels. Strict prison rules is the basis for reforming law breakers. Soviet prisoners are not torture chambers or dungeons, but the system is strict ; it will make even the most inveterate criminals, society's recreants, respect the law. The system is at the same time humane and designed to kindle in the criminal the spark of civic consciousness and to help him find the way to an upright life.

The time will come when there will be no need of jails in the Soviet Union. Incidentally, no new jails are being

built in our country, and crime is declining from year to year. Crime is a legacy of the accursed past, and socialist society is waging a tireless and determined revolutionary struggle against its survivals.

We witnessed the release of a convict who had served his sentence. The prison doors opened that day for Anani Sokolov, who had been sentenced to two years in jail after being convicted of starting a brawl in a hostel. In prison he worked as a bricklayer and served altogether eight months. His good work and behaviour cut a year and four months off from his sentence. Handing Sokolov his release papers the warden said to him kindly :

"Well, see to it that we don't meet here again".

"That won't happen again. The prison has put some sense into my head. Thank you, citizen warden".

"Now you may call me comrade, if you want to", the warden smiled and shook his hand.

We went out of the gate together with Sokolov.

A column of buses was passing on the wide street, and from the buses came a merry song. It was a group of youth returning from excursion. Workers employed in the evening shifts of factories located in the area where hurrying to their plants. Twilight was descending on Moscow, and the capital's evening air was pure and clear.



THE CONTENT OF INDIAN FILMS

A. B. BOSE

DESIGN OF STUDY

There are five aspects of the process of communication, viz., the communicator, the communique, the communicant, the media and the effect. These have been well expressed in the classic sentence "who says what to whom, how and with what effect". This report presents the results of studying the 'what' of the Indian feature film, i.e. the content.

It had originally been planned to base the report on a hundred films actually seen but the work turned out to be so tedious and time consuming that it had to be stopped after reaching the figure of sixty. The analysis of each film required about five hours — three hours for seeing it, half an hour for travelling and one and a half hours for recording the relevant points. If to this is added the obsolescent picture houses in which many films had to be seen and the pedestrian presentation of the films themselves, the strain involved can be imagined.

A tentative decision was first made as regards the points to be studied about the films. Actual tests were then made by seeing a few films to ascertain whether it was possible to study these and also to determine how best it could be done. Concepts and definitions were worked out. The outcome was the preparation of a fairly comprehensive outline. Then began the task of seeing films. This involved the taking of notes inside the hall while seeing the film. The essential points on which the notes were to be taken had to be memorised. The darkness did constitute a handicap in

the beginning but was overcome after some practice. Later, on the same day, the relevant entries were made in the framework of the outline. Since reliance on memory was reduced to the minimum possible, there are little chances of slips having occurred though their possibility is not ruled out. Once the outlines of sixty films were ready the tables were prepared. In almost all cases a bivariate and multivariate tabulation scheme was followed, keeping the theme of the film as one of the variables. But as the number of films seen was only sixty, the cell frequencies were too small to make any meaningful comparison between the different types of films. This has therefore been avoided.

The survey was confined to Hindi feature films only since films produced in this medium have the maximum catchment area geographically, represent about 40% of the total number of films produced annually in this country and are seen by the largest number of people living here. Every Hindi feature film released for the first time in Delhi was seen. There were very few exceptions to this procedure when due to unavoidable reasons a film had to be missed. The actual survey began in March, 1958.

The entire survey, from its planning to the writing of the report was done by the author.

Some of the limitations of this study are:—

(1) As the survey covers only sixty films, it has not been considered

desirable to make thematic comparisons of the films as the cell frequencies are too small to arrive at any meaningful conclusions. Such thematic comparisons would have enabled a better understanding of the problem.

(2) The selection of films for the purpose of the survey is subject to the following limitations :—

(a) Not all Hindi films produced in India are released in Delhi.

(b) The entire year was not taken into reckoning but rather a few months.

It is therefore difficult to say whether there is any justification for calling the sixty films studied as being representative of the Hindi films being produced.

(3) The content analysis of the films was limited by the amount of information that could be recorded by seeing the picture only once. A much more comprehensive analysis could be made if the same film is seen a number of times and the items discussed.

(4) It is not possible for an individual research worker to cover the entire range of possibilities of content analysis. Hence the nature and amount of information covered had to be limited.

FINDINGS

Thematic Classification.

Films were classified on the basis of the theme into the following categories :—

Type A CRIME

These depict crime, its detection, etc. like Night Club, Mujrim, Taxi 555.

Type B ADVENTURE,
COURT INTRIGUE,
ETC.

These depict court intrigue, adventures, etc. like Maharani, Raj Tilak, Chaalbaaz, Miss Toofan Mail, Mr. Q. (Stunts are included in this category).

Type C SOCIAL

These deal with social problems like prostitution, beggary, poverty, etc. as in Talaaq, Karigar, Sadhna.

Type D MYTHOLOGICAL
AND DEVOTIONAL

These depict stories from Hindu mythology, lives of saints, devotees, etc. like Sant Raghu, Gopi Chand, Sakshi Gopal.

Type E HISTORICAL

These depict stories from some chapter of history, like Samrat Chandragupta, Yahudi, Raj Pratigya.

Type F SHOW WORLD

These depict the inside story of show business, (cinema, circus, etc.,) like Great Show of India, Sone ki Chidiya, Sitaron se Aagey.

Type G	LOVE	These deal basically with love like Phagun, Madhumati.
Type H	DOMESTIC	These depict domestic life, its problems, its joys and sorrows like Chhoti Bahen, Ghar Sansar.
Type I	COMEDY	These deal with the lighter side of life and as such are full of humour, funny incidents and anecdotes, like Naya Paisa, Chalti ka Naam Gaadi, Shararat.
Type J	MISCELLANEOUS	Films which do not fall into any of the above categories.

In classifying films, the chief element was taken into consideration. It would be wrong to deduce that a film classified into a particular category depicts only those elements and nothing else, for films generally show a mixture of several elements. For instance, crime films have elements of love, adventure, domestic discord, etc., but since they predominantly depict crime they have been categorised as such.

Some Characteristics.

Table No. 1 gives the average length of films.

Table No. 1 Average length of films

Type	Average length(in ft.)
A	12,879
B	12,784
C	13,239
D	12,927
E	13,041
F	13,704
G	14,913
H	14,515
I	13,760
J	12,997
	13,253

The shortest film was 10,425 ft. while the longest was 16,393 ft. giving a range of 5,968 ft.

Table No. 2 gives the number of films certified as Adult or Universal by the Censor Board.

Table No. 2 *Adult or universal character of films*

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total	
Adult	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	3.3
Universal	14	8	6	5	4	4	4	4	3	6	58	96.7
											60	100.0

Table No. 3 gives the rural or urban setting of films. In the class 'others' has been included films depicting jungles, etc.

Table No. 3 *Setting of films*

Setting	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total	
Rural	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	3.3
Urban	13	—	5	1	3	4	1	2	3	3	35	58.3
Both	1	7	1	2	1	—	2	1	1	—	16	26.7
Others	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	3	7	11.7
											60	100.0

As will be seen, films deal primarily with urban life and people, inspite of the fact that 82.7% of the Indian population is rural. The probable reasons for greater emphasis on urban life are firstly, the audience is almost entirely urban; secondly, urban life with its complex of activities, people and situations has greater scope for drama (according to filmland); thirdly, the story writers have an urban background and are more familiar with urban life.

Table No. 4 gives the Indian or foreign setting of films. As is evident from the table, most of the films have an Indian setting. The foreign setting of the film does not necessarily mean that the film was shot abroad; rather, it refers to some episode in a foreign land.

Table No. 4 *Setting of films*

Setting	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total	
Indian	14	7	6	5	2	4	4	4	3	4	53	88.4
Foreign	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	5	8.3
Both	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	3.3
											60	100.0

Portrayal of Characters :

A large number of characters make their appearance in the course of the film. Of these, four were chosen, namely, the hero, the heroine, the chief evil male character (villain) and the chief evil female character, as most of the situations and incidents involve these characters. Table Nos. 5 to 14 give the manner in which the hero and the heroine are portrayed and Table Nos. 15 to 24 give the manner in which the evil characters are portrayed.

Table No. 5 gives the age of the hero and the heroine. The hero is the chief male character round whom the story revolves. Similarly, the heroine is the chief female character. It is not necessary that the relationship between the hero and the heroine be one of lover and beloved. Out of the sixty films seen and analysed, one has no hero and in three films the relationship between the hero and the heroine is different from that of lover and beloved. In the remaining fifty-six films, however, the relationship between hero and heroine is that of lover and beloved. The age as at the beginning of the film has been considered except the cases where the childhood of the hero or the heroine is also shown.

Table No. 5 Age of the hero and the heroine

Heroine	Hero					Total
	Young	Middle	Old	No hero		
Young	58	1	—	—	59	98.3
Middle	—	—	—	—	—	—
Old	—	—	—	1	1	1.7
Total	58	1	—	1	60	100.0
	96.6	1.7		1.7		100.0

Table No. 6 gives the religion and caste of the hero and the heroine. The religion was inferred from the names of the characters. The caste was inferred from the surname of the characters ; when this was not given, inference was made from any statement or incident in the course of the film. The 'no reference' category in the table refers to the cases in which it was not possible to determine the caste of the character.

Table No. 6 *Religion and caste of the hero and heroine*

Heroine	Hero							Total	
	Hindu			Muslim	Others	No hero			
	Upper caste	Lower caste	No reference						
Hindu : Upper caste	19	—	1	—	—	1	21	35.0	
: Lower caste	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	1.7	
: No reference	—	—	29	—	—	—	29	48.3	
Muslim	1	—	—	4	—	—	5	8.3	
Others	1	—	1	—	2	—	4	6.7	
Total	21	1	31	4	2	1	60	100.0	
	35.0	1.7	51.7	6.7	3.3	1.7		100.0	

The table shows that in almost all the cases in which the hero belongs to the upper caste, the heroine also belongs to it. Again, when no reference is made about the hero's caste, no reference is also made about the heroine's caste.

Table No. 7 gives the marital status of the hero and the heroine. The marital status as at the beginning of the film has been considered. Thus if the hero and the heroine marry in the course of the film, they have been entered as unmarried.

Table No. 7 *Marital status of the hero and the heroine.*

Marital status	Hero		Heroine	
Unmarried	52	86.7	52	86.7
Married	7	11.6	8	13.3
No hero	1	1.7		
Total	60	100.0	60	100.0

Table No. 8 gives the education of the hero and the heroine. This was inferred from the statements made or from the incidents, etc. in which these characters are involved. The 'not evident' category in the table means cases in which it was not possible to infer with any degree of certainty the education of the hero and the heroine.

Table No. 8

Education of the hero and the heroine.

Heroine	Hero				Total
	Educated	Uneducated	Not evident	No hero	
Educated	45	2	—	—	47 78.3
Uneducated	3	2	—	—	5 8.3
Not evident	—	—	7	1	8 13.3
Total	48	4	7	1	60 100.0
	80.0	6.7	11.6	1.7	100.0

As is clear from the table, in most of the films both the hero and the heroine are educated. It is only rarely that the one is educated and the other is not.

Table No. 9 gives the economic status of the hero and the heroine. Inference about economic status was made from the house, dress, occupation, statements, and incidents. It cannot, however, be categorically stated that the inferences were in all cases correct since due to flaws in direction sometimes it is really difficult to determine economic status. In certain films the economic status changes in the course of the film. The economic status as at the beginning of the film has been considered.

Table No. 9

Economic status of the hero and the heroine.

Heroine	Hero					Total
	Poor	Middle	Rich	No hero	Indeter- minate	
Poor	3	2	3	—	—	8 13.3
Middle	3	14	4	—	—	21 35.0
Rich	3	12	14	1	1	31 51.7
Total	9	28	21	1	1	60 100.0
	15.0	46.7	35.0	1.7	1.7	100.0

The table shows that the hero and the heroine come chiefly from the upper and the middle classes. Cases of a great disparity (one belonging to the upper class and the other belonging to the lower class) in the economic status of the hero and the heroine are not frequent.

Table No. 10 gives the occupation of the hero and Table No. 11 gives the occupation of the heroine. The occupation of kings, princes, zamindars, etc., has been entered as 'no occupation'; this probably accounts for the large number in this category. In case the occupation changes in the course of the film, the first occupation has been taken and not the subsequent ones.

Table No. 10 Occupation of the hero

Occupation	No.	Occupation	No.
Police Inspector	5	Carpenter	1
Advocate	4	Fisherman	1
Office assistant	2	Poet	1
Business	2	Actor	1
Truck driver	1	Manager of estate	1
Vendor	1	Theatre proprietor	1
Press reporter	1	Motor mechanic	1
Captain	1	Journalist	1
Commander	1	Circus star	1
Professor	1	Laundry proprietor	1
Tabalchi	1	No hero	1
Odd jobs	1	No occupation	28
Total = 60			

Table No. 11 Occupation of the heroine

Occupation	No.	Occupation	No.
Dancer	5	Teacher	1
Domestic servant	2	Fisherwoman	1
Film actress	2	Commander	1
Secretary	1	Typist	1
Pleader	1	Labourer	1
Attendant	1	Circus proprietor	1
Captain	1	Dress maker	1
Doctor	1	Receptionist	1
		No occupation	38
Total = 60			

The table shows that the occupation of the hero varies to a considerable extent ranging from police inspector, advocate and business to actor, poet, journalist and even vendor. Almost two-thirds of the heroines have no occupation. The rest do jobs ranging from doctor, teacher, and receptionist to domestic servant and professional dancer.

Table No. 12 gives the number of films in which the hero and the heroine smoke and drink.

Table No. 12 Habits of the hero and the heroine

Habits		Hero		Heroine	
Smoking : Yes		23	38.3	1	1.7
	No	36	60.0	59	98.3
No hero		1	1.7		
Total		60	100.0	60	100.0
Drinking : Yes		6	10.0	1	1.7
	No	53	88.3	59	98.3
No hero		1	1.7		
Total		60	100.0	60	100.0

Table No. 13 gives the dress worn by the hero and the heroine. The dress worn by Indian kings, gods and goddesses and Indian Muslims has been entered as Indian. The category 'others' refers to Roman, Arabian, etc. dress. Western dress means trousers, skirts, etc.

Table No. 13 Dress of the hero and the heroine

Heroine	Hero						Total
	Indian	Western	Both	Others	No hero		
Indian	16	11	4	—	1	32	53.3
Western	—	3	1	1	—	5	8.3
Both	1	10	6	—	—	17	28.3
Others	1	—	—	5	—	6	10.0
Total	18	24	11	6	1	60	100.0
	30.0	40.0	18.3	10.0	1.7		100.0

The table shows that in roughly one-third of the films the heroine wears Western dress as well. This is done probably to enable the actresses to reveal their figure to advantage.

Table No. 14 gives the family composition of the hero and the heroine. The natural family has been defined as one comprising of husband, wife and unmarried children. The joint family has been defined as one comprising of other members as well. The composition as at the beginning of the film has been considered. For instance, if the hero initially lives alone and marries in the course of the film, he has been entered as living alone.

Table No. 14

Family composition of the hero and the heroine

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total	
<u>Hero</u>												
Only hero	11	7	1	2	1	3	1	—	1	2	29	48.3
Hero & others (natural)	4	—	3	2	3	1	2	2	2	4	23	38.3
Hero & others (joint)	—	1	1	—	—	1	2	1	—	—	7	11.7
No hero	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1.7
											60	100.0
<u>Heroine</u>												
Only heroine	4	—	1	—	—	2	2	1	—	—	10	16.7
Heroine & others (natural)	8	8	4	4	4	1	2	2	3	6	42	70.0
Heroine & others (joint)	3	—	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	8	13.3
											60	100.0

The table shows that in roughly half of the films the hero is shown as living alone, and in roughly one-third of the films he is shown as living in a natural family. In the case of the heroine, however, in most of the cases she is shown as living in a natural family. In very few cases are the hero and the heroine shown as living in joint families.

In the previous pages we have given the characteristics of the hero and the heroine as portrayed in Indian films. Now we shall do the same for the evil characters (villain) portrayed. The characters are evil because they have bad motives ranging from persecuting people, confiscating property or throne, exploiting the poor, creating rift and sowing seeds of jealousy to committing or aiding different types of crimes like murder, robbery, smuggling, rape, etc. Table No. 15 gives the age of the chief evil male character and the chief evil female character. The age as at the beginning of the film has been considered.

Table No. 15

Age of the evil characters

Age	Male		Female	
Young	28	46.7	22	36.7
Middle	20	33.3	7	11.7
Old	5	8.3	2	3.3
No such character	7	11.7	29	48.3
Total	60	100.0	60	100.0

The table shows that whereas most of the films have an evil male character, roughly half have an evil female character. In most of the films the evil character is young.

Table No. 16 gives the religion and caste of the evil characters. Religion was inferred from the names of the characters and caste was inferred from the surname of the characters ; when this was not given, inference was made from any statement or incident in the course of the film. The 'no reference' category refers to cases in which the characters had no surnames nor was any reference made about their caste.

Table No. 16

Religion and caste of the evil characters

Religion/caste	Male		Female	
Hindu : Upper caste	17	28.3	5	8.3
: Lower caste	1	1.7	—	—
: No reference	29	48.3	20	33.3
Muslim	4	6.7	4	6.7
Others	2	3.3	2	3.4
No such character	7	11.7	29	48.3
Total	60	100.0	60	100.0

Table No. 17 gives the education of the evil characters. As will be seen, in most of the films they are educated.

Table No. 17

Education of the evil characters

Education	Male		Female	
Educated	43	71.7	22	36.7
Not educated	1	1.7	1	1.7
Not evident	9	15.0	8	13.3
No such character	7	11.7	29	48.3
Total	60	100.0	60	100.0

Table No. 18 gives the economic status of the evil characters. The economic status of these characters was ascertained in the same way as in the case of the hero and the heroine. The economic status as at the beginning of the film has been considered.

Table No. 18

Economic status of the evil characters

Economic Status	Male		Female	
Poor	2	3.3	1	1.7
Middle	16	26.7	15	25.0
Rich	35	58.3	14	23.3
Not evident			1	1.7
No such character	7	11.7	29	48.3
Total	60	100.0	60	100.0

The table shows that these characters usually belong to the rich and middle classes and rarely to the poor class.

Table No. 19 and Table No. 20 give the occupation of the chief evil male character and the chief evil female character respectively. Those who earn their living through criminal activities alone have been included in the category 'no occupation'. Sometimes, the characters are engaged in some gainful economic activity, but at the same time earn money through criminal activities. This is true of most of the crime films. In such cases, the occupation they are engaged in has been entered.

Table No. 19

Occupation of the chief evil male character

Occupation	No.	Occupation	No.
Night club and hotel proprietor	6	Priest	1
Business	3	Actor	2
Money lender	4	Circus manager	1
Novelist	1	Timber estate owner	1
Prime-minister	3	Gypsy	1
Secretary	1	Agriculturist	1
Senapati	2	Magician	1
Jobber	1	No occupation	24
		No such character	7
Total = 60			

Table No. 20

Occupation of the chief evil female character

Occupation	No.	Occupation	No.
Dancer	7	Naikin	1
Servant	3	No occupation	17
Actress	3	No such character	29
Total = 60			

Table No. 21 gives the number of films in which the chief evil characters smoke and drink.

Table No. 21

Habits of the chief evil characters

Habits	Male		Female	
Smoking : Yes	31	51.6	4	6.7
No	22	36.7	27	45.0
No such character	7	11.7	29	48.3
 Total	60	100.0	60	100.0
 Drinking : Yes	17	28.3	—	—
No	36	60.0	31	51.7
No such character	7	11.7	29	48.3
 Total	60	100.0	60	100.0

Table No. 22 gives the dress worn by the chief evil characters.

Table No. 22

Dress worn by the chief evil characters

Dress	Male		Female	
Indian	24	40.0	19	31.7
Western	21	35.0	4	6.7
Both	4	6.7	5	8.3
Others	4	6.7	3	5.0
No such character	7	11.6	29	48.3
 Total	60	100.0	60	100.0

Table No. 23 gives the relationship between the chief evil male character and the chief evil female character. The 'not applicable' row relates to cases where one or both of the evil characters do not exist and hence the question of relationship between the two does not arise.

Table No. 23 *Relationship between the chief evil characters*

Relationship

Dancer in hotel and his accomplice

in evil actions	5	8.3
His mistress	7	11.7
Relative	7	11.7
Love	2	3.3
Others	4	6.7
No relationship	5	8.3
Not applicable	30	50.0

Total

60 100.0

Table No. 24 gives the number of films in which the chief evil male character is punished for his evil actions. The punishment is imposed by some persons, by the state or even by God.

Table No. 24 *Is the chief evil male character punished?*

Whether punished

No	12	20.0
Yes : Arrested by police	15	25.0
Shot dead or killed	16	26.7
Falls and dies	5	8.3
Gets killed accidentally	2	3.3
Others	3	5.0
Not applicable	7	11.7

Total

60 100.0

In most of the cases the punishment is either death or detention for trial under law or conviction under it.

Love and Marriage:

Romantic love is a characteristic feature of Indian films though certainly not a characteristic feature of our society or even of the class to which the characters belong. Table No. 25 gives the number of films in which love is shown to be the predominant motivation of the hero and the heroine, acceptance in love or rejection making a world of difference to them. Other aspects of life like work, family, education, etc. are relegated to the background. Songs, dialogues, situations and motivations emphasise the importance of love. Success in love is picturised as being all important. Anything different from it is regarded as unromantic and so is shunned. The courting of the beloved by the lover is given a fair degree of prominence with a vivid description of techniques. Some of the techniques of courting shown are how to attract the attention of the heroine, how to humour her, how to convey to her the message of love and how to whisper in her ears words of love. A few films glorify love to the extent that young girls whose hands are being forced in marriage run away from their homes, meet the man of their choice and live happily. In a few cases even the techniques of fooling parents for meeting beloved/lover or concealing her/him are described in detail. It is these aspects which are often opposed by sober people on the ground that such elements teach youngsters the superficial and relatively unimportant things of life at the cost of others.

Table No. 25 Love as predominant motivation of the hero and the heroine

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Hero	10	3	2	3	1	2	4	1	2	5	33 55.0
Heroine	11	6	4	5	2	3	4	2	2	6	45 75.0

Table No. 26 gives the genesis of love between the hero and the heroine. Diverse ways are shown. Sometimes it is teasing the heroine with all sorts of remarks and even practical jokes ; at others, they first pick up a quarrel, but ultimately it transforms itself into love. Strangely enough, although this is evident to the cine-goer, the characters themselves do not seem to be aware of it !

Table No. 26 Genesis of love between the hero and heroine

Genesis of love		
Hero and heroine already married when the film started	7	11.7
Hero and heroine already in love when the film started	6	10.0
Love as slow growth	22	36.7
Love at first sight	21	35.0
Relationship between hero and heroine other than that of lover and beloved	4	6.7
Total	60	100.0

Table No. 27 gives the way in which the hero and the heroine come to know each other. As will be seen, in most of the cases they meet accidentally. A number of ways are contrived for this accidental meeting which takes place at hotel or roadside, club or social gathering, railway station or forest in an effort to add variety to the eternal theme of 'boy meets girl'. Usually the method is unconventional.

Table No. 27 *How the hero and the heroine come to know each other*

Method			
Met accidentally	36	60.0	
Were formally introduced	1	1.7	
Knew each other beforehand	8	13.3	
Already married	7	11.7	
Others	4	6.7	
Relationship between hero and heroine other than that of lover and beloved	4	6.7	
 Total	60	100.0	

Table No. 28 gives the number of films having the love triangle involving the hero, the heroine, and other characters. The love triangle in which the hero is at the vertex indicates two girls seeking the love of the hero; the love triangle in which the heroine is at the vertex indicates two men seeking the love of the heroine; the presence of two triangles indicates a larger number in this pursuit of love.

Table No. 28 *Presence of the love triangle*

Presence			
Love triangle with hero at vertex	7	11.7	
Love triangle with heroine at vertex	10	16.7	
Two love triangles with hero, heroine or other characters at vertices	5	8.3	
No love triangle	38	63.3	
 Total	60	100.0	

Table No. 29 gives the number of films in which the chief characters choose their marriage partners. Although actual marriage is not always shown on the screen, the fact that the lovers are united is taken to mean that they will get married. In four cases of arranged marriage (two of the hero and two of the heroine) it so happens that the persons to be married had met previously and liked each other.

Table No. 29 Extent to which the hero and the heroine choose their marriage partners

Hero

Hero marries the girl of his choice (beloved)	47	78.3
Arranged marriage	3	5.0
Hero does not marry	2	3.3
Hero is already married	7	11.7
No hero	1	1.7

Total

<u>Heroine</u>		
Heroine marries the boy of her choice (lover)	45	75.0
Arranged marriage	5	8.3
Heroine does not marry	2	3.3
Heroine is already married	8	12.3

Total

Table No. 30 gives the extent to which the statement "the course of love never runs smooth" holds good for Indian films.

Table No. 30 Extent to which the statement "the course of love never runs smooth" is true of Indian films

Song and Dance :

Songs are an indispensable part of Indian films. A film without a song is unimaginable. This partly accounts for the abnormal length of our films. Table No. 31 gives the number of songs per film.

Table No. 31

Number of songs per film

No. per film	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1.7
4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1.7
5	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	5
6	3	1	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	10
7	7	3	2	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	15
8	2	1	2	2	2	2	—	—	3	—	14
9	1	—	—	1	—	—	3	1	—	—	6
10	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	2	4
11 or more	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	4
											60
											100.0
Average	6.7	7.4	7.0	10.4	9.5	8.2	9.5	7.0	7.2	6.7	7.7

Often, songs are accompanied by dances. Table No. 32 gives the song cum dance numbers per film.

Table No. 32

Number of songs cum dances per film

No. per film		
None	1	1.7
1	3	5.0
2	6	10.0
3	15	25.0
4	9	15.0
5	11	18.3
6	7	11.6
7	4	6.7
8	3	5.0
10	1	1.7
Total	60	100.0
Average per film		4.25

Out of 460 songs in the sixty films surveyed, 255 or 55.4% were accompanied by dances. Alternately, there were only 13 dances in the sixty films surveyed which were not accompanied by songs.

Table No. 33 gives the extent to which songs are accompanied by dances and the characters participating in them.

Table No. 33 Extent to which songs are accompanied by dances

(202)

Song	NO	YES						Total	
		Solo dance			Group dance				
		Hero	Heroine	Others	Heroine	Hero & Others	Hero, heroine & others		
Solo : Hero	26 (92.8)	—	1	1 (3.6)	—	—	—	1 (3.6) 28 (100.0)	
Heroine	51 (49.0)	—	36	—	36 (34.6)	2	14	1 (16.4) 104.22.6 (100.0)	
Others : Male	50 (89.3)	—	2	1	3 (5.4)	—	—	3 (5.4) 56 (100.0)	
Female	8 (9.5)	—	—	41	41 (48.8)	—	—	34 (41.7) 84.12.2 (100.0)	
Duet : Hero & heroine	24 (55.8)	—	11	—	11 (25.6)	3	—	2 (18.6) 43 (100.0)	
Hero & others	1 (14.3)	—	1	1 (14.3)	—	3	—	2 (71.4) 7 (100.0)	
Heroine & others	3 (33.3)	—	3	—	3 (33.3)	—	9	— 9 (33.3) 15 (100.0)	
Others	12 (29.3)	—	1	9	10 (24.4)	—	2	— 17 (46.3) 41 (100.0)	
Chorus : Hero, heroine & others	3 (50.0)	—	—	—	—	—	3	— 3 (50.0) 6 (100.0)	
Hero & others	4 (57.1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 (42.9) 7 (100.0)	
Heroine & others	4 (21.1)	—	—	—	—	—	15	— 15 (78.9) 19 (100.0)	
Others	19 (38.0)	—	—	2	2 (4.0)	—	1	— 28 (58.0) 50 (100.0)	
Total	305 (44.6)	—	53	55	108 (23.5)	5	6	47 (31.9) 460 (100.0)	

The table shows that 59.2% of the total number of songs are solos, 23.0 % are duets, and 17.8% are choruses. Also, 23.5 % of the total number of songs are accompanied by solo dances and 31.9 % are accompanied by group dances. Songs by female characters are more often accompanied by dances than songs by male characters.

Table No. 34 gives the number of films in which the hero and the heroine can sing and dance. Songs are almost invariably sung by play-back singers.

Table No. 34 Whether the hero and the heroine can sing and dance

Hero			Heroine		
Sings	42	70.0	Sings and dances	42	70.0
Does not sing	17	28.3	Sings only	14	23.3
No hero	1	1.7	Does not sing or dance	4	6.7
Total	60	100.0	Total	60	100.0

Table No. 35 gives the scenes in which songs are introduced. As is evident from the table, they show a wide range of situations.

Table No. 35 Scenes in which songs are introduced

Scenes	No.	%
Declaring love, courting, etc.	62	13.5
Happy thoughts of love	20	4.3
Dejection in love	18	3.9
Worry about acceptance in love	1	0.2
Attracting attention of lover/beloved	4	0.9
Remembering lover/beloved	3	0.7
Pretending love to seduce or detain a person	6	1.3
Preventing person from doing duty by keeping him/her/ them busy in song and dance	5	1.1
Celebration of birthday, marriage, festival, national event, etc.	29	6.3
Group entertaining itself	21	4.6
Persons being entertained in house, garden, etc.	30	6.5
Entertainment in hotel, cafe, night club, etc.	30	6.5
Dancing girls entertaining clients	11	2.4
Lullaby	5	1.1
Rehearsal or stage performance or charity show	22	4.8
Cinema shooting, recording, etc.	6	1.3
Devotional songs addressed to God	34	7.4

Singing while working	10	2.2
Selling articles	7	1.5
Earning through song and dance on streets, etc.	7	1.5
Intoxication	3	0.7
Dream sequence	13	2.8
Background song	30	6.5
Spontaneous outburst (gaiety)	12	2.6
Attracting attention (object other than love)	7	1.5
Begging	4	0.9
Dejection (other than love)	4	0.9
Teasing	4	0.9
Miscellaneous	50	10.9
Total	460	100.0

Some Scenes

Table No. 36 gives the number of films in which the different characters disguise themselves to conceal their identity. Sometimes in one film a character takes several disguises. The form of disguise varies considerably. The more common forms are sadhu, bearded old man, magician, trader, beggar and astrologer. In ten cases, girls disguised themselves as boys and in two cases men disguised themselves as women. The motives for such disguise range from commission of crime, detection of crime and eliciting information to meeting beloved and rescuing somebody. Often the director's purpose is to create humour by showing the cinegoer's favourite actor or actress in different roles. Usually the disguise goes undetected and though the cinegoer has no difficulty in spotting the person, the characters in the film are unsuccessful!

Table No. 36

Characters taking disguise

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total	
Hero	14	4	1	1	2	2	1	—	3	2	30	50.0
Heroine	4	3	—	—	1	1	1	—	2	1	13	21.7
Others: Male	3	3	1	3	1	1	1	—	2	4	19	31.7
: Female	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	3	5.0
No characters take disguise	1	2	4	1	1	1	3	3	—	—	16	26.7

Innumerable types of scenes are shown in films involving a vast complex of situations, characters and motives. Various types of crimes are also shown, particularly in crime pictures, and this has resulted in a tirade against films by a certain section of people on the ground that such scenes incite the cinegoers to deviant behaviour. Table No. 37 shows the extent to which films depict such activities.

Table No. 37

Types of scenes shown in films

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J		Total
<u>Scenes of stealing and</u>												
<u>robbery</u>												
Yes	10	-	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	21	35.0
No	5	8	4	4	3	2	2	3	3	5	39	65.0
											60	100.0
<u>Smuggling</u>												
Yes	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	8.3
No	12	8	4	5	4	4	4	4	4	6	55	91.7
											60	100.0
<u>Pickpocketing</u>												
Yes	5	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	9	15.0
No	10	8	4	5	4	2	4	4	4	6	51	85.0
											60	100.0
<u>Forced confinement</u>												
Yes	5	7	2	2	3	1	2	2	1	4	29	48.3
No	10	1	4	3	1	3	2	2	3	2	31	51.7
											60	100.0
<u>Drinking</u>												
Yes	9	5	2	1	3	4	2	1	-	5	32	53.3
No	6	3	4	4	1	-	2	3	4	1	28	46.7
											60	100.0
<u>Gambling</u>												
Yes	4	-	2	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	10	16.7
No	11	8	4	4	4	3	4	3	3	6	50	83.3
											60	100.0

<u>Torture</u>	-	6	-	1	2	1	1	1	3	16	26.7
Yes											
No	15	2	6	4	2	3	3	3	3	44	73.3
										60	100.0

<u>Committing murder</u>													
<u>or killing a person/s</u>													
<u>or attempting</u>													
Yes	14	8	-	2	4	3	1	2	1	4	39	65.0	
No	1	-	6	3	-	1	3	2	3	2	21	35.0	
											60	100.0	

<u>Abducting or kidnap-</u> <u>ping or attempting</u>	5	5	1	2	2	1	2	-	-	3	21	35.0
Yes												
No	10	3	5	3	2	3	2	4	4	3	39	65.0
											60	100.0

<u>Hiding clues</u>	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3.3
Yes													
No	13	8	6	5	4	4	4	4	4	6	58	96.7	
											60	100.0	

<u>Forgery</u>	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	5.0
Yes												
No	13	7	6	5	4	4	4	4	4	6	57	95.0
											60	100.0

<u>Blackmailing</u>	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	5.0
Yes												
No	13	8	6	5	4	4	4	3	4	6	57	95.0
											60	100.0

<u>Exchange of blows and grappling</u>												
Yes: Hero participates	13	8	3	1	-	2	3	-	2	3	35	58.3
Others	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.7
No	2	-	2	4	4	2	1	4	2	3	24	40.0
											60	100.0

Gunfight, shooting, exchange of fire, sword-fight, etc.

Yes: Hero participates	6	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	10	16.7	
Others	7	6	2	-	1	2	-	-	2	4	40.0	
No	2	1	4	4	1	2	4	4	2	2	26	43.3
											60	100.0

Court scene

Yes	9	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	-	4	17	28.3
No	6	8	6	4	2	4	4	3	4	2	43	71.7
											60	100.0

Some of the techniques of crime shown in films are how to lure young girls by giving false news with a view to raping ; how to commit theft by breaking open a safe or entering the house by climbing water pipes ; how to forge letters and cheques ; how to impersonify some rich person and trap people by sending false messages ; how to escape from police in hot pursuit by changing number plates of cars or by lying down with pavement dwellers or by wearing 'burqua' ; how to smuggle gold, etc. in wooden boxes marked 'glass handle with care' ; how to dispose of a dead body by carrying it in a taxi and throwing it into the river ; how to hide stolen jewels in the heels of shoes or underneath the jerkin ; how to commit robbery in night-clubs by putting off lights and snatching costly necklace from the neck of some rich lady ; how to snare rich men through vivacious dancers who pretend love ; how to murder people by shooting or by pushing snake in bedroom or under cover of car accident ; how to plan a crime to pin point precision by giving instructions to all the accomplices and coordinating their actions ; how to pass on the guilt of crime to innocent people by calling them to the scene of murder through some apparently harmless letter ; how to blackmail a person by so arranging a false show that the man feels he has committed a crime ; and how to win money in a gambling den by arranging cards. Usually such incidents are found in crime films which show a highly organised criminal gang operating under the unquestioned dictatorship of an educated, smart and apparently law-abiding citizen. The headquarter is usually a popular nightclub with secret underground passages and cellars, telephonic connections and alarm systems, secret almirahs and electric connections, where the rich residents of the city come to have a gay time and watch the vivacious dancers in action. Usually in the end the criminal gang is broken up and the offenders punished thus demonstrating that crime does not pay.

To what extent the depiction of such criminal activities incite people to deviant behaviour, teach them the ways of the underworld, and generate social and personal disorganisation is a subject of bitter controversy. On the one hand are those who see in every portrayal of deviant behaviour an incitement to crime and on the other hand are those who think that such scenes are absolutely harmless and even regard such films as helping to put down crime by showing that crime does not pay. It is not the object of this

study to report on the effect of films, but it would not be out of place to make here a few observations. There is no unitary cause and effect relationship between crime depicted on the screen and its commission. There are other forces at work like the values of the individual, the groups and institutions to which the individual belongs and its norms of behaviour, and the control which such groups exercise over him. At the same time it should be borne in mind that it is not necessary that the whole series of incidents will appeal to the cine-goer and will be adopted by him. Certain isolated incidents and situations may have greater appeal for him and there is certainly an element of truth in the assertion of those who oppose crime films on the ground that the big boss of the criminal gang who lives throughout like a Moghul rolling in money and surrounded by beautiful women may have greater appeal for the adolescent than his sudden downfall. Researches in other countries do tend to show that such films indirectly foster crime when other forces influencing the life of the individual point to the same direction, though it would certainly be wrong to single them out for causing all forms of anti-social behaviour.

Humour

The presence of a comedian is almost an indispensable element in Indian films. It is almost unthinkable on the part of the director to depend solely upon situations, dialogues, etc. for creating humour. A comedian is his chief forte in this and is an important figure in the star cast as is evident in the bold display of his name in the advertisements. Table No. 38 gives the number of films in which the comedian makes an appearance. Sometimes there is more than one comedian in the film.

Table No. 38 Number of films with a comedian

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Yes	14	7	5	4	3	4	4	3	4	5	53 88.3
No	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	7 11.7
											60 100.0

A large number of devices are used to create humour. Among these may be mentioned witty conversation; dialogues having a mixture of Hindi and some other language; peculiar way of speaking Hindi by a non-Hindi speaking person, as for instance a South Indian; regional features like the method of dressing, talking, etc. of the people of some states; facial expression; idiocy or even half insanity; funny dress; funny situations and behaviour of some of the characters; disguise; quarrels; courting; physical abnormalities and handicaps, etc.

Table No. 39 gives the ending of the films. As will be seen, tragedies are practically non-existent.

Table No. 39

Ending of the film

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
Happy	14	8	6	4	3	4	3	4	4	6	56 93.3
Unhappy	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	2 3.3
Both	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2 3.3
											60 100.0

SUMMARY

One-fourth of the total number of films dealt with crime; 13.3% depicted adventure, court intrigue, etc.; 10.0% were social, 8.3% mythological and devotional, 6.7% historical, and an equal percentage dealt with the show world, love, domestic life, and comedy; the rest were of a miscellaneous character.

The average length of a film was 13,253 ft., the longest being 16,393 ft. and the shortest being 10,425 ft., giving a range of 5,968 ft.

Films dealt primarily with the life and problems of the young, unmarried and educated people belonging to the upper and middle classes and living in the cities. They rarely dealt with the other groups. Thus for instance, in the sixty films surveyed, 58.3% depicted urban life and 26.7% both urban and rural life; in almost all the films both the hero and the heroine were young, unmarried, and educated and came chiefly from the upper and the middle classes. Cases of a great disparity in the social and economic status of the hero and the heroine were infrequent. In roughly

half of the films the hero had on occupation. In others, he was engaged in a wide range of occupations varying from police inspector, advocate and business to actor, poet, journalist and even vendor. In almost two-thirds of the films the heroine had no occupation. The rest did jobs ranging from doctor, teacher, and receptionist to domestic servant and professional dancer. In almost all the films the relationship between the hero and the heroine was one of lover and beloved.

In two-fifths of the films, the hero smoked and in one-tenth of the films he drank. The heroine neither smoked nor drank.

In roughly half of the films, the hero lived alone; in roughly one-third he lived in a natural family, and in the rest he lived in a joint family. The heroine in 70.0% of the films lived in a natural family; in 16.7% of the films she lived alone and in 13.3% of the films she lived in a joint family.

Most of the films had an evil male character (villain); roughly half had

an evil female character. These characters were usually young, educated and belonged to the upper and middle classes. They were engaged in a wide variety of occupations and sometimes earned money through unlawful means under cover of some legitimate occupation. In roughly two-fifths of the films the chief evil male character had no occupation and in roughly one-fifth of the films the chief evil female character had no occupation. The motives of the evil characters ranged from persecuting people, confiscating property or throne, exploiting the poor, creating rift and sowing seeds of jealousy to committing or aiding different types of crimes like murder, robbery, smuggling, rape, etc. The relationship between the male and the female evil characters varied. Sometimes she was his accomplice in his evil deeds and even his mistress; but almost always they worked together coordinating their resources and energy to bring harm upon people.

In roughly half of the films the chief evil male character smoked and in three-tenths of the films he drank. In a few films the chief evil female character smoked but never drank.

Usually the chief evil male character was punished for his evil deeds, the mode varying from arrest and death to other forms of loss.

Romantic love is a characteristic feature of Indian films. It was the predominant motivation of the hero in 55.0% of the films and the predominant motivation of the heroine in 75.0% of the films. Success in love was picturised as being all important. Other aspects of life like work, family, etc. were relegated to the background. No doubt, therefore, that in three-fourths of the films both the hero and the heroine chose their marriage part-

ners, their love affairs forming an important part of the film.

In approximately one-third of the films, the hero and the heroine fell in love at first sight; in approximately another one-third of the films love grew slowly; in 11.7% of the films the hero and the heroine were already married when the film started; in 10.0% of the films they were already in love when the film started and in 6.7% of the films the relationship between the hero and the heroine was different from that of lover and beloved.

In most of the films, the hero and the heroine came to know each other through an accidental meeting. A number of ways were contrived for this meeting which took place at hotel or roadside, club or social gathering, railway station or forest in an effort to add variety to the eternal theme of 'boy meets girl'. Usually the method was unconventional.

Roughly one-third of the films had the love triangle. In 56.7% of the films the course of love did not run smoothly. It had its ups and downs.

Songs are a characteristic feature of Indian films. Of the total number of songs, 55.4% were accompanied by dances, the average number of song cum dance numbers per film being 4.25. Of the total number of songs, 59.2% were solos, 23.0% were duets, and 17.8% were choruses. Also, 23.5% of the total number of songs were accompanied by solo dances, and 31.9% were accompanied by group dances. Songs by female characters were more often accompanied by dances than songs by male characters. In 70.0% of the films, the hero could sing; in 23.3% of the films the heroine could sing only and in 70.0% she could both sing and dance. The scenes

in which songs were introduced showed a wide variety ranging from courting, thoughts about beloved, and entertainment, to earning a living, worshipping and begging.

Adoption of disguise for concealing identity was fairly common. Sometimes in one film a character took several disguises. The form of disguise varied, the more common forms being sadhu, bearded old man, magician, trader, beggar, astrologer and even opposite sex. The motives for such disguise ranged from commission of crime, detection of crime and eliciting information to meeting beloved, rescuing somebody and providing humour. In three-fourths of the films, some character or the other adopted disguise. In 50.0% of the films, the hero adopted some disguise and in 21.7% of the films, the heroine adopted some disguise.

Deviant behaviour was depicted in films in varying degrees, together with the techniques of committing crime. This was particularly true of crime films. Thirty-five percent of the films showed scenes of stealing and robbery; 8.3% of the films showed scenes of smuggling; 15.0% of the films showed scenes of pick-pocketing; 53.3% of the films showed scenes of drinking; 16.7% of the films showed scenes

of gambling; 26.7% of the films showed scenes of torture; 65.0% of the films showed scenes of murder, killing or attempting to murder; 13.3% of the films showed scenes of attempting to rape; 5.0% of the films showed scenes of forgery; 5.0% of the films showed scenes of blackmailing; 60.0% of the films showed scenes of exchange of blows, grappling, and other forms of violence; and 56.7% of the films showed scenes of gunfight, shooting, exchange of fire swordfight, etc.

The presence of a comedian for providing humour is almost an indispensable element in Indian films, 88.3% of the films having at least one comedian. Some films had two or more comedians. The usual means employed to create humour were conversation, dialogues having a mixture of Hindi and other languages, repetition of a phrase quite often by one of the characters, peculiar way of speaking Hindi by a non-Hindi speaking person, regional features like the method of dressing, etc. of people of some states, facial expression, idiocy, disguise, quarrels, peculiar way of courting, and physical abnormalities and handicaps.

Tragedies were non-existent, 93.3% of the films having a happy ending.

FAMILY BACKGROUND OF JUVENILE AND ADOLESCENT DELINQUENTS

S. C. VARMA

The absence of a drunkard father or an immoral mother may be of some advantage to a growing child but, normally speaking, family as a compact unit is of primary importance in the personality development of an individual. It is in the family where the child first experiences the norms of the society and obtains his first training for group living. The psychological importance of the family cannot be over emphasised either. To quote Klein, "The family is the child's first psychological laboratory. What he learns there about other people and about himself is likely to colour his subsequent interpretations of human nature."¹ The foundation of a sense of security, of identity and poise, which contributes to the development of sound attitudes and habits is laid in affectional ties formed within the

bosom of the family circle. Another significant function of family consists not so much in exercising control over animal drives as in humanizing them, more efficiently than any of the secondary groups in which relationships, authority and control tend to be impersonal. Evidently, weakening of family ties and control complicates the problem of socialization and social control. That how family influenced an individual, his attitudes and behaviour, depends not only on its structure and composition but also on its socio-economic status in the community and the quality of life in the home.

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents according to the parental make-up of their families, in Lucknow and Kanpur:

Table I.

Parental Make-up	Lucknow	Kanpur
Both mother and father dead	32	21.33
Both mother and father alive	65	43.34
Only father alive	13	8.67
Only mother alive	26	17.33
Step mother and own father	11	7.33
Step father and own mother	3	2.00
Total	150	100.00
		150
		100.00

¹ Klein, D. B.: "Mental Hygiene", p. 335.

Of the total number of 150 delinquents in Lucknow in 65 or 43.34% cases, both mother and father were alive while in 32 or 21.33% both own father and mother were dead. This suggests that a significantly higher number of delinquents came from homes in which both own parents were alive than from homes in which both own parents were dead. It is noteworthy that of the total number of families in which only one parent was dead, fathers were dead in larger number of cases than mothers. Only 14 delinquents had a step parent, the proportion of those having mother as a step parent being higher than those having father as a step parent.

In Kanpur, of the total number of 150 delinquents, in 55 or 36.67% cases

both own father and mother were alive whereas in 28 or 18.67% cases both own parents were dead. Thus, as was the case in Lucknow, more delinquents came from homes in which both own parents were alive than from homes in which both own parents were dead. Further, as was the case in Lucknow, fathers were dead in more cases than mother. The proportion of delinquents having a step parent was equal at both the places. At Kanpur, however there is no significant difference between the cases having father as a step parent and the cases having mother as a step parent.

The following table, deduced from the above one, shows the distribution of delinquents according to the structure of their homes, in Lucknow and Kanpur:

Table II

Structure of the home	Lucknow	Kanpur
Unbroken Homes	65	43.34
Broken Homes:-		
(a) Completely	32	21.33
(b) Partially	39	26.00
Homes with Step Parents	14	9.33
Total	150	100.00
	150	100.00

The table reveals that in Lucknow there was no significant difference between the cases coming from Broken Homes and from Unbroken Homes (47.33%: 43.34%). Further, the proportion of delinquents from Partially Broken Homes, that is, the homes in which only one parent was dead, was higher than the Completely Broken Home cases, that is, the homes in

which both own parents were dead (26.00%: 21.33%).

But in Kanpur the proportion of delinquents coming from Broken Homes was significantly higher than those coming from Unbroken Homes (54.00%: 36.67%). The proportion of delinquents coming from Broken Homes was significantly higher

in Kanpur than in Lucknow (54.00%: 47.33%). Further, like Lucknow, in Kanpur the proportion of delinquents coming from Partially Broken Homes was significantly higher than those coming from Completely Broken Homes (35.33%: 18.67%).

Thus, while in Lucknow there was no significant difference between the cases coming from Broken and Unbroken Homes, in Kanpur more delinquents came from Broken Homes than from Unbroken Homes. How-

ever, in either city more delinquents came from Partially Broken Homes than from Completely Broken Homes. While in Lucknow significantly more delinquents had mother as a step parent than father (7.33%: 2.00%), in Kanpur no such difference was noted (5.33%: 4.00%).

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents according to their age status and structure of the home in Lucknow:

Table III—A.

Age Status	Home Structure			Total
	Unbroken	Broken	Step Parents	
Juvenile	57.14 12	23.81 5	19.05 4	100.00 21
Adolescent	41.09 53	51.16 66	7.75 10	100.00 129
Total	65	71	14	150

More adolescent than juvenile delinquents came from Broken Homes (51.16%: 23.81%). However, it is to be noted that more juvenile than adolescent delinquents came from homes in which there was a step parent

(19.05%: 7.75%).

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents according to their age status and structure of the home, in Kanpur:

TABLE III—B.

Age Status	Home Structure			Total
	Unbroken	Broken	Step Parents	
Juvenile	64.29 18	28.57 8	7.14 2	100.00 28
Adolescent	30.33 37	59.84 73	9.83 12	100.00 122
Total	55	81	14	150

As was the case in Lucknow, in Kanpur also more adolescent than juvenile delinquents came from Broken Homes (59.84%: 28.57%). As regards the delinquents coming from homes with a step parent, there is no significant difference in the proportion of juveniles and adolescents coming from

such homes in Kanpur (7.14%: 9.83%), unlike Lucknow (19.05%: 7.75%).

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents according to their castes and structure of the homes at Lucknow:

TABLE IV-A.

Caste	Home Structure			Total
	Unbroken	Broken	Step Parents	
Upper	43.24 16	48.65 18	8.11 3	100.00 37
Inter	50.00 16	46.88 15	3.12 1	100.00 32
Lower	50.00 10	40.00 8	10.00 2	100.00 20
Muslims	40.74 22	46.30 25	12.96 7	100.00 54
Others	14.29 1	71.42 5	14.29 1	100.00 7
Total	65	71	14	150

The proportion of Broken Homes was highest in the case of delinquents coming from other castes (71.42%). The percentage of Broken Homes among Muslims was 46.30%. Among Hindus, the proportion of Broken Homes was highest in Upper caste cases (48.65%) closely followed by Intermediate cases (46.88%), and Lower caste delinquents (40.00%). The percentage of Unbroken Homes was equal in Intermediate and Lower caste cases (50.00%: 50.00%), while it was significantly higher in either of these than Upper

caste cases (43.24%). A comparison of these findings with the figures for Lucknow in Table no. II, which have revealed that the percentage of delinquents coming from Upper castes was highest followed by Intermediate and Lower castes, suggests a relationship between Broken Homes and delinquency.

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents according to their castes and home structure, in Kanpur:

TABLE IV-B.

Caste	Home Structure			Total
	Unbroken	Broken	Step Parents	
Upper	54.29 19	34.28 12	11.43 4	100.00 35
Inter	35.14 13	62.16 23	2.70 1	100.00 37
Lower	21.95 9	68.29 28	9.76 4	100.00 41
Muslims	34.38 11	50.00 16	15.62 5	100.00 32
Others	60.00 3	40.00 2	—	100.00 5
Total	55	81	14	150

Among Hindus, the proportion of Broken Home cases was highest in Lower castes (68.29%) followed by Intermediate caste (62.16%) and Upper castes (34.28%). In other words, the percentage of Unbroken Home cases was highest in Upper castes (54.29%) followed by Intermediate castes (35.14%) and Lower castes (21.95%). As regards Muslim cases, 50.00% of them came from Broken Homes and 34.38% from Unbroken Homes. If these figures are viewed along with the figures for Kanpur in Table No. II, which shows that among Hindus delinquents in highest number came from Lower castes, followed by Intermediate and Upper castes, a relationship between Broken Home and delinquency is indicated.

Number of Offences and Structure of the family

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents according to their status by number of offences and structures of their homes, in Lucknow :

TABLE V-A.

No. of offences	Home Structure			Total
	Unbroken	Broken	Step Parents	
First Offenders	49.21 62	42.86 54	7.93 10	100.00 126
Recidivists	12.50 3	70.83 17	16.67 4	100.00 24
Total	65	71	14	150

It is evident that the proportion of Recidivists coming from Broken Homes was significantly higher than the First Offenders (70.83%: 42.86%).

The following table sets out the distribution of delinquents according to the number of offences and the structure of their homes, in Kanpur:

TABLE V-B

No. of Offences	Home Structure			Total
	Unbroken	Broken	Step Parents	
First Offenders	39.02 48	51.22 63	9.76 12	100.00 123
Recidivists	25.93 7	66.67 18	7.40 2	100.00 27
Total	55	81	14	150

As was the case in Lucknow, in Kanpur also significantly more recidivists than First Offenders came from Broken Homes (66.67% : 51.22%).

These two tables indicate that a Broken Home greatly hampers the rehabilitation of an offender.

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents according to their approximate age at which their fathers and mothers had died, in Lucknow :—

TABLE VI-A.

Age of the delinquent (in year)	Father died	Mother died	
5 and below	7	11.48	14
6 – 8	13	21.31	17
9 – 11	19	31.15	13
12 – 14	11	18.03	8
15 – 17	11	18.03	3
18 – 20	—	—	1
Total	61	100.00	56
			100.00

The proportion of cases in which mother had died when the delinquent was of 5 years of age and below was higher than those in which Father had died (25.00% : 11.48%). In 53.57% cases the father and in 52.46% cases the mother had died when the delinquents were between 6-11 years of age.

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents according to their age at which their parents had died, in Kanpur:—

TABLE VI-B

Age of the delinquent (in years)	Father died		Mother died	
5 and below	8	11.76	10	18.18
6 – 8	16	23.53	11	20.00
9 – 11	18	26.47	15	27.27
12 – 14	17	25.00	8	14.55
15 – 17	6	8.83	9	16.36
18 – 20	3	4.41	2	3.64
Total	68	100.00	55	100.00

As was the case in Lucknow, in Kanpur also the proportion of delinquents who had lost their mothers in early childhood was higher than those who had lost their fathers (18.18 %:11.76%). Father or mother had died in majority of the cases while the delinquents were below 12 years of age.

prepared. Such readjustments to the environment in which the dead is missing may not be adequate and rewarding. Evidently, under such circumstances the unhappy situation caused by bereavement may be complicated to an extent that the family may lose its cohesiveness and may fail to function as a primary socializing group.

Broken Home: Its Emotional and Socio-Economic Implications

The broken home has serious emotional and socio-economic involvements. The nature of one's reaction to it may vary as different individuals react differently to a loss according to the degree of one's intimacy with the lost one. Bereavement may thus mean emancipation from a frustrating and unpleasant relationship or the assumption of a more satisfying role. But, in general, it means a severe emotional loss and necessitates readjustments and rearrangements and assumption of new emotional, social and economic responsibilities for which one may not be

The replacement of a dead parent, particularly of the father, is conditioned and limited by the cultural norms of our people. The replacement, however, may itself be utterly inadequate or unsatisfactory as is evidenced by the plight of children having step parents. The following cases may be taken as illustrations:—

1. The delinquent is the elder of the two children, 13 years old, has never been to a school and is considered as a "nuisance" in the home which consists of his own mother and step father. The family is living in a tolerable locality but the immediate surroundings are squalid. Such unwholesome spots,

made up by seven or eight houses occupied by the lower class people can be found in the heart of very satisfactory residential areas.

Though it is his first offence which has been recorded in the court, the boy has a record of non-official delinquencies which had started when he was about six years old. According to his parents, he had started loafing about, stealing edibles and money and disposing of home belongings around that age. Later he started playing with stakes and had absconded from the home twice when he was about eleven years of age. During his second absence from home, which was longer than the first one, he had gone to Allahabad, all alone, where he worked as a domestic servant, hotel boy and rickshaw-puller in turn and returned home of his own accord.

There is a history of physical torture by mother and cold indifference on the part of step father. The boy has "nothing to do" with his step father and the step brother, while he is "disgusted" with his mother, though, in his own words, it was mother and not step father who must have worried over his escapes from home. And, as the boy added, "mother wishes that I should obey my step father. I do not obey him. That is why she beats me. I will never obey him." Asked to give reasons for such an attitude towards his step father, the boy stated: "He often abuses my mother. One day food was not ready. He abused her and left the house saying that he would not return. He came back after three or four hours. He does not care for me. He wishes that I should run away from home for ever." The step father runs a small way-side vegetable shop in the Cantonment and considers that the boy is his "headache." The mother maintains that the boy's step father is

a "kind and affectionate" man. Evidently, she denies any rough treatment of her by her husband while, in the opinion of the boy, he "abuses" her. She also maintains that she has been quite justly harsh to the boy.

2. The delinquent is of about sixteen years of age and comes from a Hindu Upper caste family. The father is a jeweller, having an income of about Rs.350 per month and the family is living in a three-room complete house in a decent locality. The boy lost his mother some three years back, the father remarried a year after her death and has a son from his second wife.

The relationship of the boy with his father was very harmonious and he had never wished that his father should remarry. The father, however, remarried, quite to the distaste of the boy as a result of which the relationship between the two became strained. The step mother was quite affectionate towards the boy till she had her own son. As her son grew up, her indifference towards the boy was transformed into a positive rejection of the latter. The boy started experiencing deprivations and discrimination in matters of food, clothes and maternal affection and care. Compelled by this state of tension on the one hand and the desire for love on the other, he once reported the matter to his father, expecting him to correct her step mother's attitude and behaviour; but to no avail. Instead, he was mildly rebuked by his father and thrashed by his step mother. He grew more hostile and defiant towards her. At last his impertinence was brought to the notice of his father by the step mother.

The father had all this time been reasonably nice to the boy, though the latter had a feeling—a vague one, that he was no more a darling of his father. But on this particular occasion, this

vague feeling was crystallized into a conviction. The father smacked the boy, asking him to be obedient towards his step mother. The boy, however, persisted in his antagonism towards her for which reason punishment became more severe and frequent. The existing gulf between the boy and his step mother widened while an emotional distance was thus created between him and his father, a distance which has not been bridged since then. The sense of loss of his own mother was revived with greater intensity and sorrow. The boy became an emotional destitute who had a house but no home.

He became disinterested in his studies --he was then in the IXth grade and, according to his school reports fairly good at studies, and became indifferent towards his so called home. It was during this period that he became friendly with a boy of about eighteen years of age who came from a completely broken home and a lower caste family. And it was at the latter's suggestion and prompting that he started stealing money from the home for such joint activities as taking tea in the restaurants, gambling and visiting the movie. He was twice caught redhanded in the home and was severely beaten by his father and chained to bed for the first and threatened to be turned out of the house for the second time. The next day he narrated his plight to his friend who was very sympathetic towards him and who suggested him to steal an ornament from the home, sell it in the market and leave the home for good. After about a week the boy acted likewise but was arrested while disposing off the gold bracelet along with his friend.

As it is his first offence, he has been put on probation of two years. He is very irregular in presenting himself before the Probation Officer. The fath-

er reports that he has not at all improved while the boy says that he is utterly disgusted with his home, particularly with his father. As for his attitude towards his step mother, it is one of complete indifference. He has given up his studies and is in a desperate search of some job—to become independent of his parents.

The significance of a broken home as a criminogenic factor is to be assessed with reference to the set-up of the family. The old joint family system did not prevent the death of a parent from being a crisis, but it did cushion the shock, prevented the child's becoming a destitute, and facilitated the process of readjustment. It contributed towards maintaining the social integrity and economic stability of the bereaved members. The joint family system, however, is disintegrating under the stresses of the present-day urban living conditions characterized by individuation and mobility. In the modern conjugal family the death of the father, who is usually the sole bread winner of the family, means a sudden disintegration of its economy and also collapse of control over the children since he is the dominant parent in the home, while the loss of mother may mean an intense emotional shock and deprivation for it is more the mother than the father who provides affection and tender care to the child. In the small family, during a person's early years, the range of his interaction is largely limited to his parents and siblings, if any. The same few persons are the sources of his deepest satisfactions and frustrations, loves and hostilities.* The shock or pain of the parent's death may, therefore, be felt more intensely than if the emotional attachments and affections were diffused as they used to be in a large joint family.

*Leighton, Alexander H., John A. Clausen and Robert N. Wilson: Exploration in Socialsychiatry, pp. 291-292.

The defective structure and economy of the society further complicate the problem of broken homes. If the orphans and destitutes are left to their own fate, that is, if State does not take full charge of their development, education and employment or if there is gross inadequacy of private agencies and institutions to look after such distressed children, broken homes definitely increase the risks of vagrancy and delinquency. In the latter case it be-

comes the specific duty of the State to father and mother those children who are handicapped by a broken home.

Size of the family of which the delinquents are a part, is also believed to be of significance in the development of a delinquent career. Such factors as standard of living, overcrowding in the homes and the amount of care and attention given to each child are related to the size of the family.

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents' families according to the total number of children in them, the delinquent inclusive, in Lucknow and Kanpur:—

Table VII

Number of children	Lucknow	Kanpur
1	17	11.33
2	18	12.00
3	14	9.33
4	20	13.33
5	25	16.67
6	21	14.00
7	19	12.67
8	16	10.67
9 and more	—	2
Total	150	100.00
		150
		100.00

It is evident from the table that most of the delinquents' families both in Lucknow and Kanpur had 5 children. The average number of children in Lucknow comes out to be 4.6 while in Kanpur it is 4.8. Further, in 11.33% families in Lucknow and in 8.67% in Kanpur, delinquent was the only child.

Sibling Position of the Delinquent

It is generally believed that the only child, the eldest and the youngest are more liable to develop undesirable habits and attitudes, the reason being the preferential treatment given to them. The following table shows the

sibling position of delinquents in Lucknow and Kanpur:—

Table VIII

Sibling position	Lucknow		Kanpur	
Eldest	26	17.33	29	19.33
In between	66	44.00	72	48.00
Youngest	41	27.34	36	24.00
Only child	17	11.33	13	8.67
Total	150	100.00	150	100.00

Contrary to the common belief stated earlier, delinquents both in Lucknow and Kanpur in highest proportion were "in-between", that is, they had siblings above and below them, lower proportion of delinquents being only, eldest or youngest children. It is interesting that the proportion of delinquents who were youngest was higher than those who were eldest. This maybe explained in terms of greater sense of responsibility in the eldest child than in the youngest child. As to the delinquents being largely "in between" children, it would be pertinent to remark that the "in-between" child is more liable to be neglected or ignored by the parents than the youngest or the eldest. In

short, it is not the preferred child but the neglected or ignored one who is a greater delinquency risk.

Educational Standards and Habits of Delinquents' Parents

Educational standards of the members of the family, particularly of parents, have great bearing on the quality of the family life and the development of the child's attitudes and behaviour pattern. The same is true of their habits and personality traits. The cultural refinement of the home, in short, is also a function of educational standards and habits of parents and siblings, besides being dependent on the economic status of the family.

The following table sets out the distribution of delinquents according to the educational standards of their fathers and mothers, in Lucknow:—

Table IX-A.

Educational Standards	Father	L u c k n o w	
		Mother	
Illiterate	47	31.34	78
Primary	41	27.33	22
Secondary	21	14.00	16
Higher Secondary	7	4.67	2
College	2	1.33	—
Not Ascertained	32	21.33	32
Total	150	100.00	150
			100.00

The table reveals that of the 150 cases in Lucknow, in 31.34% cases fathers and in 52.00% cases mothers were illiterate, that is, they had never been to a school and had no education whatsoever. Further, in 27.33% cases fathers, and in 14.67% cases mothers had read up to only Primary standard. In 20.00% cases fathers, and in 12.00% cases mothers had read beyond the primary stage. It is thus evident that in largest number of cases, both fathers and mothers were

either illiterate or had read up to primary stage only. The proportion of cases having illiterate mothers was higher than those having illiterate fathers, while the proportion of cases in which fathers had read up to primary stage only or beyond it was higher than those in which mothers had read up to primary stage or beyond it. In short, educational standards of mothers were poorer than of fathers.

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents according to the educational standards of their parents, in Kanpur:—

Table IX-B

Educational Standards	K a n p u r		Mother
	Father		
Illiterate	53	35.33	87
Primary	38	25.33	21
Secondary	15	10.00	11
Higher Secondary	13	8.67	3
College	3	2.00	—
Not Ascertained	28	18.67	28
Total	150	100.00	150
			100.00

Of 150 cases in Kanpur, in 35.33% cases fathers and in 58.00% cases mothers of delinquents were illiterate. Fathers in 25.33% cases and mothers in 14.00% cases had read up to only Primary stage. In 20.67% cases fathers and 9.33% cases mothers had read beyond the Primary stage. Thus, as was the case in Lucknow, the proportion of cases in which both fathers and mothers were illiterate or had read up to Primary stage only was higher than those in which they had gone beyond the Primary stage of education. Further, the number of cases having illiterate mothers was higher than those having

illiterate fathers, while the number of cases having fathers who had read upto primary stage and beyond it was larger than those in which mothers had similar educationnl standards.

To sum up, educational standards of both fathers and mothers in Lucknow and Kanpur were definitely low or poor, poorer of mothers than of fathers.

After having observed the educational standards of the delinquents' parents as low or poor, attention is now focussed on their marked habits and interests. It must be pointed out here that in collecting information regarding the

parents' educational standards and interests and habits, only those cases were investigated in which either of the two or both parents were alive. Thus, it led to the exclusion of cases in which both own parents were dead.

The following table sets out the distribution of delinquents according to marked habits and traits of their parents in Lucknow:—

Table X-A

Habits and Traits	F a t h e r	M o t h e r
Desirable	92	61.34
Undesirable:—		
1. Alcoholism	6	4.00
2. Criminality	2	1.33
3. Gambling	13	8.67
4. Immoral conduct	5	3.33
Not Ascertained	32	21.33
Total	150	100.00
		150
		100.00

Of the 150 cases in Lucknow, in 61.34% cases fathers and in 71.34% cases mothers had desirable traits. Only in 17.33% cases fathers and in 7.33% mothers had traits or habits that could be designated as undesirable. The most common undesirable habit among fathers was gambling, followed by alcohol-

ism and immoral conduct in the case of fathers and immoral conduct in the case of mothers. It is thus evident that the proportion of delinquents who had fathers and mothers having desirable habits was larger than those having parents with undesirable traits. Also, more fathers than mothers had undesirable traits (17.34%: 7.34%).

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents according to the personality traits and habits of their parents in Kanpur:—

Table X-B

Habits	F a t h e r	M o t h e r
Desirable	85	56.66
Undesirable:—		
1. Alcoholism	11	7.33
2. Criminality	4	2.67
3. Gambling	18	12.00
4. Immoral conduct	4	2.67
Not Ascertained	28	18.67
Total	150	100.00
		150
		100.00

Of the 150 cases in Kanpur, in 56.66% cases fathers and in 65.33% cases mothers had desirable traits. In only 24.67% cases fathers and in 16.00% cases mothers had undesirable traits. The most common undesirable trait of both fathers and mothers was gambling, followed by alcoholism or immoral conduct in the case of fathers and by immoral conduct in case of mothers. It is to be observed that the proportion of delinquents having fathers and mothers with desirable traits was significantly higher than those whose fathers or mothers had undesirable traits, as was the case in Lucknow. However, like Lucknow, significantly more fathers (24.67%) than mothers (16.00%) had traits and habits that could be termed as undesirable.

But on comparing the tables of Lucknow and Kanpur, we find that the proportion of delinquents whose fathers had undesirable traits was higher in Kanpur than in Lucknow (24.67%: 17.33%). Also the proportion of delinquents whose mothers had undesirable habits was higher in Kanpur than in Lucknow (16.00%: 7.33%). It is to be noted that in no case mother had a criminal record at Lucknow while there were 2 cases having mothers with a criminal record in Kanpur.

It can be concluded that since both in Lucknow and Kanpur the proportion of delinquents whose fathers or mothers had desirable habits was significantly higher than those whose fathers or mothers had undesirable traits, personality make-up of parents had not much to do with the development of the child's delinquent career.

The following cases, however, illustrate the manner in which immorality in the home or drunkenness may agitate and cause tension, hostility, and confusion in a growing child which may come to be reflected in his delinquent behaviour:-

1. The delinquent is of seventeen years of age, the only child, lost his father some three years back and is living with his mother, a casual labourer, in a hutment in Benaj, K. He is a Muslim and was working as a domestic servant at the time of the present offence. In his own words, his mother is "wicked" and "very cunning".

This is his history. As he grew up to consciousness he found that his uncle--a distant cousin of his father, was living with the family. As his uncle was very fond of him, the boy became very attached to him. In fact, he was closer to his uncle than he was to his own father, the reason being an extremely reserved nature of the latter. It was rare for his father to talk pleasantly in the home, least of all to the boy. And he rarely talked unpleasantly either. The boy was very afraid of him, naturally, while towards his mother he harboured a subdued hostility. His mother and uncle were on very best terms and so were his father and the uncle. It was towards his father that the mother was not only indifferent but at times quite hostile and abusive. He developed a strong feeling that his mother did not like his father and that she was in love with his uncle. The boy further revealed that she used to be very harsh to him (the boy), on which occasions it was not his father but his uncle who used to thrash her and protect him, that he was always very cross with her and that he wanted his father to punish her but which he never did.

This state of affairs continued and the boy started having adequate understanding of it. It was particularly during a temporary absence of his father, caused by the latter's visit to his elder brother and his family at Jhansi, that the boy was confronted one night with the unhappy fact of an illicit relationship between his mother and uncle. He grew more "frightened", agitated,

and restless and decided to report the matter to his father on his return. As he felt miserable and disgusted, he told his mother that she was "very cunning" when she desired him to lunch with his uncle the next morning. She got annoyed with him upon which his uncle thrashed her and gave some money to the boy, suggesting him to play about, the sum which was spent on smoking. "It used to happen every night" said the boy who awaited his father's return with great impatience.

But he never revealed anything to his father. He was mortally afraid of him and did not know "how to say it." Of course, his father was in full knowledge of the affair. His neighbours knew it too. The boy was in a peculiar state of fear, anger, hatred and confusion all rolled in one, the confusion being attributable to the fact that even though his father knew everything, he never protested nor thrashed his mother and did not turn out his uncle. That the boy had desired his father to punish his mother was stated by him in most unambiguous terms. He disliked his father so much for this that he used to pass most of his time outside the home. The boy was then about thirteen years of age.

The boy confessed masturbation and a number of homosexual adventures with three or four boys of the neighbourhood and later also with some of the inmates in the prison cell. It was his third offence—assault of a girl, the first and the second ones being theft of a fountainpen from a shop and house-breaking respectively, all committed in quick succession. His uncle had left the house about a year before his father's death. As regards his father's death, the boy said that his mother and uncle were responsible for it. The boy had worked as a cycle repairer, vendor in Cinema houses, a factory labourer and as a domestic servant. The reasons for such frequent changes

of occupation, all unskilled, were that he "hated and resented it all", and his delinquency.

The boy wishes to tell his mother that he knows everything but all that he has succeeded in mentioning is that she is "wicked" and "deceitful". He is full of pity for his father—now, though he does not miss him much. He has nothing but abuses for his uncle. As for his offences, he does not know as to why he committed them.

2. Mr. R.C., delinquent's father, is the elder of the two brothers. As a child he experienced much affection from his parents and as he grew up he shared familial authority with his father over his younger brother. After the death of the parents, which occurred during their early childhood, the two brothers started living with their uncle. In their new home, however, a significant change occurred. Now, all the attention and love came to be given to the younger brother and the aunt in particular was very harsh and rude to Mr. R. C. Though the younger brother did not allow himself to become disrespectful towards the elder brother, the latter nonetheless started resenting the former's privileged position and also the harshness of the aunt. At last, he broke his studies—he was at that time in X grade, and ran away from home and came to Lucknow in search of a job, which he got as a clerk in an office. The younger brother was much distressed and after passing the XI grade took up a job as a clerk in the same city and also a separate residence. Later, the matters improved and the uncle got the elder brother married and also the younger one a year after.

In the beginning Mr. R. C. was doing well at his job, earning more than enough and living decently and happily with his wife. But later some difficulties arose and he was retrenched as a

result of which he remained without a job for about seven months, during which period he was assisted by the younger brother. He got another job as a clerk but as the income was much smaller than before he had to take a cheaper house and live more moderately.

But the real difficulty centred on a problem which was quite different from the one stated above. Some six years had passed since his marriage and he had no child. He got worried and agitated about it and went in for his own and his wife's medical check-up. The doctor suspected barrenness in his wife. She was given all possible treatment that he could afford, but to no avail. It was during this period that he had started drinking. He became indifferent towards his wife and this indifference was in due course of time converted into positive dislike for her, under the influence of which attitude he became rude and callous towards her. He would send her away to her parents' place and would not call her back for months together, until the younger brother would intervene in the matter, which intervention was no doubt resented by him. She started keeping ill, grew paler and paler and died after having suffered the torture for about eight years.

Mr. R. C. got married again and had a son—the delinquent, and a daughter. But he did not give up his drinking. His wife did not like it and objected to it, at times quite vigorously, for which she was rebuked by him with equal amount of bad temper. She threatened to leave him along with the children for which he thrashed her quite severely. His drinking by this time had become fairly excessive and alarming. He was keeping his job somehow, with the assistance of some of his friends in the office, which kindness they showed to him on account of his wife and children. Whenever he would not have any money for the drinks,

he would demand it from his wife and her refusal, which was usually caused by her inability to give, would result in bitter quarrels. The neighbourhood people would gather in front of his home on such occasions to witness the scene. The children would cling to their mother, frightened and sobbing, which would infuriate him all the more. At times he would tear the boy apart from his mother, beat him and push him out of the house. In about a year's time, he had sold whatever jewellery his wife had and had started disposing off even the utensils of daily use. At times he would return late midnight, dead drunk and shout and pound on the doors, and the wife, out of sheer fright, would open the door only at the intervention of some neighbour.

As the boy grew up, it became usual for him to pass more and more of his time outside the home. His father would send him to bring liquor for him, doing which he did not relish, but frightened as he was, he had to. At times father would command him to sip the wine or steal some money from the mother's box for it. If he refused he was beaten by his father and if he did, he was thrashed by the mother, with the result that he did not quite know whom to please. He, however, started disliking both. He gave up his studies—he was then in the VII grade, for want of money, and took up a job of shop assistant on Rs. 43/- p. m. He never gave any money in the home, though he was very affectionate towards his younger sister.

His first delinquency was theft of money which he committed at the shop at which he was working. But as he apologised to the owner profusely, the case was not handed over to the police. He was, however, dismissed from the job. After about three months, he started working as an apprentice at a tailoring shop on Rs. 27/- per month. And it was here that he committed the offence for which he is now in jail—theft of money and cloth at the shop.

It seems that it has made no difference to Mr. R.C. who continues drinking as heavily as before and has also contracted some debts. The delinquent's mother is, however, all tears for her son. His younger sister is now

living with her maternal grand-father. The neighbourhood people say that Mr. R. C. has also started gambling and visiting prostitutes, which point, however, has not been confirmed by his wife.

Habits and Traits of Siblings

The following table sets out the distribution of siblings according to their marked habits and behaviour traits, in Lucknow and Kanpur:—

Table XI.

Habits	L u c k n o w		K a n p u r	
Desirable	102	76.69	96	70.07
Undesirable.—				
1. Alcoholism	2	1.50	3	2.19
2. Gambling	19	14.29	26	18.98
3. Criminality	3	2.26	7	5.11
4. Immoral Conduct	7	5.26	5	3.65
Total	133	100.00	137	100.00

Of the 133 cases in Lucknow in which there were siblings, 76.69% cases had siblings with desirable habits and 23.31% with undesirable habits. The most common undesirable habit was gambling (14.29%). In Kanpur, of the 137 cases in which there were siblings, in 70.07% cases there was not a single sibling with undesirable habits while in 29.93% cases, there was one or more siblings with undesirable habits. The most common undesirable habit was gambling (18.98%).

A comparison of Lucknow and Kanpur cases shows that in both the places, proportion of delinquents having siblings with desirable traits was significantly higher than those having one or more siblings with undesirable habits. However, the proportion of delinquents having one or more sibling with an undesirable habit was significantly

higher in Kanpur than in Lucknow (29.93%: 23.31%). Further, it is interesting to note that in Lucknow the proportion of cases having siblings of undesirable traits was higher than those having fathers with undesirable traits (23.31%: 17.33%) or mothers with undesirable traits (23.31%: 7.33%). In Kanpur also, the proportion of cases having siblings of undesirable traits was higher than those having fathers with undesirable traits (29.93%: 24.67%) or mothers with undesirable traits (29.93%: 16.00%).

On the basis of these figures (Tables X-XI) it may be asserted that in most of the cases delinquents did not experience any delinquency pattern in the home. However, the poor educational standards of the parents may be treated as a factor contributing to the absence of anti-delinquency patterns in the delinquents' home. That in many cases siblings, living under conditions

under which the delinquent was living, were not delinquents may be due to the fact that any environmental situation, particularly interrelationships in

the home and their emotional content, is never the same for any two children even in the same family as parents have differential attitudes towards them.

Religious Interests of Delinquents' Families

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents according to the nature of visits of the members of their families to places of worship, in Lucknow:-

Table XII-A.

Visits	Members			Family	
	Father	Mother	Siblings	Relatives	Delinquents
Regular	24	27	32	11	21
	26.09	25.71	24.06	42.31	14.00
Irregular	35	30	43	9	43
	38.04	28.57	32.33	34.61	28.67
Nil	33	48	58	6	86
	35.87	45.72	43.61	23.08	57.33
Total		92	105	133	150
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Of the 92 cases in which father was alive, own and step, in 64.13% cases father used to pay visits to common places of worship while 35.87% never visited these places. However, the proportion of cases in which fathers visited these places irregularly was significantly higher than those in which their visits were of a regular nature. Likewise, the proportion of cases in which mothers used to visit these places was higher than those in which they never visited them (54.28%: 45.72%). There was no significant difference between the cases in which mothers' visits were regular or irregular (25.71%: 28.57%). Of the 133 cases having siblings, the proportion of cases in which they were visiting these places was higher than those in which siblings never visited them (56.39%: 43.61%). But in significantly more cases siblings' visits were irregular (32.33%: 24.06%). Of the

26 cases having relatives in the family, in significantly more cases relatives visited these places than the cases in which they did not visit them at all (76.92%: 23.08%). However, here we find that the proportion of cases in which relatives were visiting these places regularly was significantly higher than those in which these visits were irregular (42.31%: 34.61%). Finally, as regards the delinquents, the proportion of delinquents who never paid any visit to places of worship was significantly higher than those who visited them (57.33%: 42.67%). Further, significantly more delinquents visited these places irregularly than regularly (28.67%: 14.00%). Thus the proportion of cases in which father or mother or siblings or relatives used to visit the places of worship was significantly higher than those in which they never visited them at all. The visits were more irregular than regular

in the case of fathers and siblings and delinquents, the visits of mothers were regular and irregular in about equal proportion and the visits in case of relatives were more regular than ir-

regular. The proportion of delinquents who never visited these places were higher than those who used to visit them, the visitors being more irregular than regular.

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents according to the nature of visits to places of worship by the members of their families, in Kanpur:—

Table XII-B

Visits	Father	Members of Family				Delinquents
		Mother	Siblings	Relatives		
Regular	13	24	22	17		27
	14.77	23.30	16.06	39.53		18.00
Irregular	33	26	51	12		48
	37.50	25.24	37.23	27.91		32.00
Nil	42	53	64	14		75
	47.73	51.46	46.71	32.56		50.00
Total	88	103	137	43		150

The proportion of cases in which fathers visited the places of worship was significantly higher than those in which they did not visit them at all (52.27%: 47.73%); of the cases in which mothers visited them and the cases in which they did not was about equal (48.54%: 51.46%); of the cases in which siblings paid visits to them was higher than those in which they did not (53.29%: 46.71%); of the cases in which relatives paid the visits was significantly higher than those in which they did not (67.44%: 32.56%); and the pro-

portion of delinquents themselves who visited these places and of those who did not was equal (50.00%: 50.00%).

Further, the visits were more irregular than regular in case of fathers (37.50%: 14.77%), siblings (37.23%: 16.06%) and the delinquents (32.00%: 18.00%). The proportion of regular and irregular visits was about equal in case of mothers (23.30%: 25.24%) while the visits were more regular than irregular in case of relatives (39.53%: 27.91%).

The following table shows the distribution of delinquents according to the frequency of reading of scriptures and other holy books in their homes, in Lucknow:—

Table XIII

Reading	L u c k n o w	K a n p u r
Regular	3	2.00
Irregular	23	15.33
Nil	124	82.67
Total	150	100.00
		150
		100.00

It is quite clear that the proportion of delinquents in whose homes no scripture or holy book was read was significantly higher than those in whose homes it was read, regularly or irregularly, either in Lucknow (82.67%: 17.33%) or in Kanpur (77.33%: 22.67%). Further, the proportion of cases in which scriptures were read irregularly in the homes was significantly higher than those in which they were read regularly (15.33%: 2.00%) in Lucknow, while there was no case in Kanpur in which these were read regularly in the home.

Religion : Its Role in Delinquency Prevention

“Religion,” as Unamuno remarks, “is better described than defined and better felt than described.”¹ For it is a feeling of the Divine, an urge for union with God or absolute moral values, controlling one’s way of life. The Geeta, the Bible, the Koran are the finest and the deepest expressions of man’s quest of the Sublime, of his longing to go beyond himself and the temporality of an earthly existence. Religion, thus understood, harmonizes and gives inner peace and poise to an individual torn by worldly frustrations and deprivations. As La Piere and Farnsworth put it, “It gives an abstract meaning and continuity to his life, comforting him in his disappointments and explaining away his personal failures and sufferings.”² It prescribes and prohibits and thus becomes a medium of social control. It motivates, guides and promises higher rewards and thus becomes the core of culture.

But it seems that the Indian society is today in the process of transition from “Ideational” or “Idealistic” culture to “Sensate” culture. “Any system of sensate truth and reality,” Sorokin points out, “implies a denial of, or an utterly indifferent attitude toward, any supersensory reality or value. . . . Theology and religion, as a body of revealed truth, are at best tolerated, just as many hobbies are tolerated or are given mere lip service. . . .”³ The “relativistic”, “materialistic” and the utilitarian outlook which characterizes sensate culture, destroys faith in the “absolute” and even regulates social relationships. Evidently, “If a person has no strong convictions as to what is right and what is wrong, if he does not believe in any God or absolute moral values, if he no longer respects contractual obligations, and, finally, if his hunger for pleasures and sensory values in paramount,” he is guided and cony rolled in his conduct towards others be “nothing but his desires and lust.” As reason, morality or even common sense are lost, it is only “physical force” which can check him “from violating the rights, interests and well-being of other men.”⁴ The sensate character of law, morality, art, philosophy and social relationships all come to be reflected in an increase in criminality, suicide, mental diseases, wars, etc.

In terms of economic activity, India is in the process of transition from rural-agricultural to urban-industrial era and our economic-industrial set up is essentially capitalistic. Man under capitalistic conditions tends to become alienated, quantified, abstractified and consumption and marketing orientated. He loses his sense of emotional

1. Unamuno, Miguel De.: “Tragic Sense of Life” translated by J. E. Crawford Flitch, p. 217.
2. La Piere, Richard T. and Farnsworth, Paul R.: “Social Psychology”, p. 315.
3. Sorokin, P.A., “The Crisis of Our Age”, p. 861
4. Ibid., p. 205.

identity and security and his self-hood.¹ Things tend to dominate man.² Economic ambitions should be harnessed to a social purpose. As Tawney puts it, "unless industry is to be paralysed by recurrent revolts on the part of outraged human nature, it must satisfy criteria which are not purely economic."³

Planning is of recent origin in India. But the problem is not one of capitalism or socialism or of free enterprise or state control. It is essentially a crisis in morality. For, "It must be recognised that science and technology deal with the pre-requisites and mechanisms of life and can reduce or abolish disvalues, but cannot create and foster positive values. Agricultural sciences and industrial arts can increase the output in the fields and factories and eliminate toil and drudgery, but cannot tell what man can do with his improved wealth and leisure. Medical science can reduce or eliminate his disease, but cannot tell how he can live a full, wholesome life. Psychoanalysis and psychiatry can diminish mental sufferings and conflicts, but cannot tell what faiths and beliefs should replace these. Economics, Politics and Jurisprudence can frame good laws and rights, but cannot form good habits, understandings and ideals. Planners and technicians can deliberately plan a scientific, tech-

nological and efficient society, but mere economic or political institutions cannot achieve or defend human goals."⁴ Indeed, the rightness of conduct and relationships is essentially a matter of morality and religion. They alone can promote positive human values of goodness, love and beauty and thereby harmonise human relationships. An economics or politics completely devoid of basic human values and ethical standards cannot solve the problem of social disorganisation, of which juvenile and adolescent delinquency is but one aspect.

Evidently, in so far as delinquency and crime can be treated as problems of human and moral relationships, religion and religious teachings can play significant role in delinquency prevention. Frank remarks, "The ego ideal, or persona, of an individual, the picture of himself as he hopes to be is the most important aspect of an individual, and when it is confused and weakened, his whole self and all his relations are disturbed."⁵ The delinquents are the individuals whose self-image is distorted, that is, their ideas about themselves, about persons or places or events that had meant something to them and about their plans for the future, seems to be limited, vague and unrealistic.⁶ The development of a healthy self-image

1. Fromm, Erich: "The Sane Society",

2. Tawney, R. H., "The Acquisitive Society",

3. Tawney, R. H., "Religion and the Rise of Capitalism", p. 278,

4. Mukerjee, Radhakamal: "A Cultural Perspective for Our Universities", Convocation Address at Y. D. College, Lakhimpur-Kheri, December 20, 1953, Lucknow, India, pp. 14-15.

5. Frank, Lawrence K., "Society As the Patients", p. 112.

6. McCann, Richard V., "Delinquency: Sickness or Sin?"

depends upon the nature and quality of one's relationships and communication with others, particularly with parents in the home during the formative years of life, that is, during adolescence and pre-adolescence period. If these relationships and contacts be personal, intimate and warm, the growing child succeeds in developing a realistic self-image. But if the parents are absent from one's "model structure", due to the inadequate and unpleasant relationships with them, the self image becomes distorted. That the parents were missing from the "model structure" of the delinquents is put beyond doubt by the present study. These delinquents are the individuals who are in search of a Self, of an Ideal. This search is rendered difficult by the conflict and confusion created by a rapid transition from the old to the new norms and "styles of life." No doubt, religion can create that spiritualism which is necessary for harmony of interpersonal relationships and the development of desirable values, goals and ideals of individual and collective life.

But religion, like other social

institutions, has tended to become dis-organised and distorted, as evidenced by communal riots, race riots and intolerance between different sects. It has, therefore, to be reinterpreted and re-organised and around basic human aspirations and goals. As Gillin re-marks, "Only as religion is socialized, that is, directed to ethical ends in individual conduct and social organization and ideals, does it produce good conduct. If religion is conceived of as a kind of magical means of getting supernatural aid to reach one's end, no matter whether those ends are social or anti-social, then religion may be found allied with all kinds of crime. Then the prostitute may have the crucifix above her bed, the murderer and the robber may pray for help in their nefarious designs. Many of the robbers and dacoits are found to be ardent worshipers of deities representing "Shakti," while a picture of some god or goddess is almost invariably found in a prostitute's room. Only a religion purified of selfishness and shot through and through with social ethics can have any large bearing on the reduction of crime."¹

1. Gillin, John Lewis: "Criminology and Penology" ; pp. 207-208.

CLASSIFICATION OF VAGRANTS IN REGARD TO THE LEVEL AND NATURE OF VAGRANCY

S. S. SRIVASTAVA

Classification of Vagrants

Our observations indicate that there are varying levels of vagrancy and various types of vagrants with distinctive traits. A preliminary classification of the entire vagrant population covered by our survey will, therefore, facilitate our study of the socio-ecological phenomenon of juvenile vagrancy. The vagrants in our study have been classified into two major groups:—

I. The first group of vagrants consists of boys who do not have their homes in the city where for the present they are living, and who are drawn from far off villages or from the neighbouring districts. Some of them belong to other States as well. They do not have any relatives in the city and they lead an exposed life as pavement dwellers. These vagrants have been classified on the basis of the nature of their vagrant activities and the level of vagrancy in them as 'pavement sleeping vagrants'. This sort of exposed life completely cut off from all family links makes them hardened vagrants, so much so that they hardly feel any urge to return to normal life.

II. The second group consists of boys who have their homes in the city but prefer life in the streets. This group includes those boys also who have lost their homes due to the death or desertion of the parents but are

still in the city loosely hanging around some relatives and friends. Four different levels of vagrancy are perceptible among the members of this group who can be further divided in four sub-groups, each distinguishable from the other on the basis of the intensity of vagrant behaviour. These sub-groups are:—

(i) Those vagrants who have their homes in the city but have severed off all connections with them. They have been designated as 'home abandoning vagrants'. To some extent they resemble the pavement sleeping vagrants. Both of them have abandoned their homes, but with the difference that in the latter case the vagrants have migrated to other places while in the former they still hover about their hometown. In one case pavement life becomes inevitable while in the other it is not so as some friends or relatives keep on trying to retrieve them from time to time. The moment these 'home abandoning vagrants' move out to other cities, there are almost sure to take to pavement dwelling life.

(ii) Those vagrants who though they have their homes in the city, mostly remain out. They are regular absentees as most often they are away from home, and for days together at times. Such boys constitute the class of as 'regular vagrants'.

(iii) The third group largest in our sample, consists of those vagrants who still retain their home affiliations, but

have developed an acute wanderlust. They wander about on the streets during the day but come back in the night with frequent late returns. Most of these vagrants come from families that lack in discipline and are partially or wholly disorganised. They fail to provide their children even with their basic needs. In most of the boys of this group vagrancy is just in its infancy, though consciously or unconsciously they prepare themselves for a vagrant career and move into higher levels of vagrancy. These vagrants have been termed as 'early vagrants'.

(iv) The last group consists of vagrants who come from immoral or criminal homes, where the main source of income is antisocial in character, so much so that in many of them the source of income is difficult to trace. This type of vagrancy though an a social behaviour, is not at all a problem for the family. The vagrants belonging to this group have been dealt with under the head 'vagrants from criminal or immoral homes'.

The following table gives a detailed classification of 300 cases of vagrants on the above lines:—

Pavement sleeping vagrants	57 (19%)
Home abandoning vagrants	33 (11%)
Regular vagrants	82 (27.3%)
Early vagrants	104 (34.7%)
Vagrants from criminal or immoral homes	24 (8.0%)
<hr/>	
Total:—	300 (100.0%)
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Vagrancy in transition—various stages in the rise and development of vagrancy.

We have mentioned different levels and stages of vagrancy according to which the entire vagrant population in our study has been divided. These stages have been observed to be interchangeable and a regular transition of one level of vagrancy into the other has been noticed. The 'early vagrants' gradually become the 'regulars' and these latter can with equal chances abandon their homes some time latter. The 'home abandoning vagrants' are mostly found taking to pavement dwelling soon after they migrate to other cities. Our study covers several such cases where pavement dwelling vagrants of Kanpur have their homes and parents living at Lucknow where previously they had been regular vagrants.

This transition is a two way process as there is every possibility for a reverse movement back to normal life, though the chances here are much less in the advanced stages of vagrancy. These chances for reversibility to normal life are extremely remote in the cases of pavement-sleeping and home-abandoning vagrants where vagrancy has become deep-rooted in the socio-psychological make-up of the personality. The vagrants belonging to criminal or immoral homes, however, from an exceptional group and can hardly be taken as the result of the above process. They have to be treated separately.

The various levels of vagrancy thus, constitute different stages in the development of vagrant career. Home-abandoning and pavement-sleeping denote later stages in the development of vagrancy and the earlier stages are free from these traits.

This transition towards higher stages does not, however, go with every

vagrant and can not be taken as unilinear development of vagrancy; yet it is an important phenomenon in the process of up-growth. It undoubtedly comes in the life of many a vagrant who takes to vagrancy and delinquency as a career.

A direct relation between these stages of vagrancy and gang-life has also been noticed. The pavement-sleeping and home abandoning vagrants show a greater bent towards gang life and criminality, whilst this tendency is less in the 'regulars' and 'early' vagrants. It is lowest in the last group where only 4.8% and 18.3% of the total number of vagrants of this group (the largest in our sample) belong to gangs and partial gangs respectively.

The 'early' vagrants are the boys who have recently taken to vagrancy. Often they come out of families where vagrant behaviour in children upto a certain age is inevitable and can be taken as a matter of course. These boys, as will be shown later on, mostly belong to lower caste Hindus. As these boys belong to the early stages of vagrancy, the chances of continued vagrancy or return to the normal course of the life are almost equal. Much depends upon the situational factors. If they continue as they are, or worsen, there is every probability that these vagrants will move upto higher stages of vagrancy. And if timely action is taken and necessary changes made in the social milieu and situations obtaining around, there are possibilities of vagrant behaviour being gradually deflected into normal and wholesome channels. These boys still maintain regular relations with their families and are easiest to be tackled in the field. The sources of maladjustment can also be detected as the families are not difficult to trace.

The next stage in vagrancy is regular absenteeism from the care and protection of the guardian, when the boy starts keeping away from home. He develops strained relations with the members of his family especially his parents as his behaviour is deprecated by them. This creates regular conflicts and develops frustration and the chances of drifting towards delinquency and gang-life increase. The reversibility to normal life also diminishes. If the situations continue unimproved for any length of time such vagrants easily move ahead and abandon their homes. Here the chances of taking to delinquency and ganging show a considerable increase. This is the group that produces the maximum number of gang-minded vagrants. Eventually the possibility of their returning to normal life becomes almost negligible.

If these boys belonging to advanced stages of vagrancy have no relatives to look after them, they hardly get any covered place to live in; so they haunt the open fields and road-sides and city corners. Such a transition becomes all the more definite when these boys migrate to other cities. It has been found to be that invariably the pavement-sleeping vagrant are the boys who could be classified as 'home-abandoning vagrants' in their respective home-towns.

The pavement-sleeping stage thus can be accounted for as the culmination of vagrancy. The boys, it is seen, completely forget their homes and develop a milieu of their own in company of other pavement sleeping vagrants. The chances for reversibility are rare, rather negligible. On the other hand the chances for them to take to delinquency are fairly large. (In this connection it is important to note that these boys usually go in for partially affiliated gangs rather than to organised gangs).

The vagrants coming out of criminal and immoral homes are most susceptible to delinquency and antisocial behaviour. There is hardly any conflict between these vagrants and their families as in most of the cases the anti-social behaviour is not incompatible with the family mores. The number of such boys in our study is 24 and it is much less than the number of vagrants belonging to other groups. This paradox is the result of the fact that these boys are difficult to contact in the field of investigation. They are clever enough to evade interviews and conceal facts. As a matter of fact not many of them take to vagrancy but enter the delinquent career outright. Incidentally in this case the question of reversibility to normal life or going ahead towards higher stages of vagrancy is of minor importance, rather it does not arise. This is why these vagrants have been treated as an exceptional group and have not been directly included in the transitional process. It is seen that vagrancy comes to exist and continues more in cases where children fail to adjust themselves to their family environments. But where they belong to criminal or immoral homes the case is different. They hardly have any difficulty in adjusting themselves to the family milieu. The family hardly deprecates their anti-social behaviour rather it provides extra encouragement to tread the slippery way to delinquency and other criminal pursuits. The vagrancy and delinquency of this class of boys though against the normative conduct of the society are not against the normative conduct of these families.

Pavement sleeping-A Life in Regressions-
An example of extreme human adaptability and power of endurance, primitive in many ways, is found in the life as lived by the vagrants on the pavements. They fight back nature's

hazards with their exposed existence. Taking food, raw and stale, roaming half-naked, sleeping out in the open and having no hearth, nor shelter yet contented, they represent life in atavism. Here human ambitions and desires for normal living have been completely shifted and urges and emotions are satisfied in the raw.

(The prospects of getting employments add impulse to their strong wanderlust which assisted by the adverse family circumstances leads these boys to come to industrial and commercial cities where they live this sort of haphazard life. It is rather strange that these vagrants do not want to lead a pavement life in their own native places and usually migrate to other cities for the pavement sleepers are mostly outsiders.)

Life on Pavements :—It may be of interest to have a glimpse into the life and living of these vagrants on pavements separately as they differ considerably in many respects from those who have their homes in the cities under study viz. Lucknow and Kanpur. The main points of difference are as follows :—

- (i). These boys have no fixed abode to live in and find a sort of collective haunt mostly around railway stations and central business areas of big towns.
- (ii). They have to earn their own living as they have no homes or relatives in the city where they happen to live for the time being.
- (iii). They lead an exposed life, mostly in open places except during the rains when they move under covered sheds and verandahs.

(iv). They have no material possessions with them, not even beddings and coverings except what they carry on their person. This is because they have no abode to keep them secure from theft-contingency of frequent recurrence among such waifs and strays.

(v). They hardly cook their own food but take it from vendors against money or service.

(vi). They have little contact with members of the other sex. A fairly high incidence of homosexual behaviour among them can be associated with this fact.

(vii). Their modes of living, food habits and other forms of behaviour follow to a great extent largely similar patterns.

(viii). They are usually overlooked by law and the public and consequently lead a most care-free life.

(ix). The incidence of street trade is

higher in this group than in the other groups of vagrants.

Despite the above mentioned differences, both these groups of vagrants (pavement sleepers and non-pavement sleepers) are more or less similar in matters of activities and behaviour patterns. The distinguishing trait becomes noticeable in the night when pavement sleeps return to the pavements while others repair to the places where they live or stay.

Rural Origins of Pavement Sleeping Vagrants :—It is noteworthy that the majority of vagrants of this type come from rural areas. This signifies that the forces of personal and social disorganisation are operative among the rural communities also and vagrancy is not confined to urban areas only. But the vagrants find no inducements to stay in villages as there is no scope for greater activities giving vent to their inner urge for vagrancy. That is why they migrate to big cities.

Following is the analysis of 57 cases of pavement dwelling vagrants according to their places of origin.

RURAL COMMUNITIES:—

Belonging to villages in far off districts.	—	35
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Belonging to villages in the same districts.	—	7
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Belonging to distant cities.	—	12
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Belonging to the same city.	—	10
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Belonging to the same city.	—	5
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Total	—	57 cases.
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A village boy who is habituated to hard life in the countryside finds pavement dwelling more easy. Once he has entered a city he is generally compelled to lead such a life as there is no alternative for him in the absence of

friends and relatives in the city where he has come to stay. Moreover a runaway boy hardly wants to stay with known persons, even if he may happen to contact them. Other potent factors in the migration of vagrants and

non-vagrants who later on take to vagrancy from these villages, are the adolescent wanderlust and romantic thirst for new experiences in big industrial cities. It is often seen that such boys run away from home in groups. The group, however, does not last long and disintegrates soon.

Type of Vagrants who prefer Pavement Dwelling

- (i). Pavement dwelling is freely indulged in by those who belong to distant cities and villages and are not known to any body in the city where they come to stay.
- (ii). Those vagrants who run away from home with some cash or jewellery and want to avoid contacting known persons.
- (iii). Those who want to lead a parasitic life with no physical work.
- (iv). Those who are physically handicapped for any active work.
- (v). Mentally deficient children who take to vagrancy (though no such experimental analysis was possible for want of facilities in the field).
- (vi) Junior vagrants who come in contact with senior pavement dwellers.

Most of our vagrants coming from the rural areas come under one or the other of the above categories.

Abodes and Pavement Homes in the Cities under study :—Concentrations of such vagrant boys are found around the railway stations and yards. Their abodes are easily traceable at night as during the day these vagrants are away in the zones they operate. They often

choose the open areas within the factory sidings to live in. Many of them have simply no abode and can sleep anywhere they like. Even in the station areas where the concentration is highest the abodes are never fixed. The whole of the 'Mool Ganj' market at Kanpur becomes the sleeping zone for many of them who assemble there at night when the shops are closed. The Canal colony is also a much frequented haunt where many of them go for dips during the day and for rest and sleep in the night.

In Lucknow some of the vagrants of this type who operate in the 'Hazratganj' zone have found their abodes in the same area.

Railway Station—the main area of concentration for the 'Pavement sleeper' type of vagrants.—Railway stations have become the central places for such boys for the following reasons:—

- (i). They are the first halting places for boys who come from outside and travel by rail.
- (ii). There is ample space where they can stay without any embarrassing interference from anybody.
- (iii). Food articles and other eatables can be easily procured from the break-off passengers or from the large number of hawkers and 'halwais' who trade in the vicinity.
- (iv). These places provide ample scope for pocket-picking and pilfering the passenger's belongings or for lifting articles from railway godowns and workshops.
- (v). From there it is always easy to operate in various zones and even to outside as in both the cities they have been localised at central places.

(vi). The migratory nature of their vagrancy * favours proximity to railway stations for purposes of egress and regress.

(vii). They are the best places for playing juvenile trades e.g. shoe-shining, pilfering and picking of coal, selling of glass and rubber pieces (picked up or pilfered from the railway yards) and petty coolie work.

These vagrants seem to have developed quite a strong fancy for such a living on semi-institutional pattern.

From the information that we could gather they have been living in the same vicinity for quite a long time. Some of the adult pavement dwellers have confessed that they have been leading the same life ever since their childhood.

These boys have been given special class names by the people which instill in them a sense of some sort of group identity. In Lucknow they are called 'Lost property boys' while in Kanpur they are referred to as 'Gadahi boys'. Similar group names have been coined for them in other industrial cities of the province. They indulge in many types of anti-social activities. But these activities are generally overlooked both by law and the public. That is why they are often engaged for odd purposes and paid for the services rendered by certain adult delinquents who hire them for criminal activities. They are fast becoming the most helpful agents for thefts and drug smuggling at Kanpur. The Indian sense of

piety and religion at times extends to them the hand of welcome and they are fed in batches by unsuspecting philanthropists on certain ceremonial occasions.

It is no wonder then why these youngsters have developed a strong fancy for such a life. It is found that many of them had been sent to poor homes where they had some sort of vocational training. But after their release nature or pre-nature, they have again taken up the same course of life.

When asked why they do not stay in the poor houses they say that there they are over-worked and half fed. Some even complained that they were not allowed to smoke and gamble-activities without which they could not live.

The fact is that these vagrants living a care-free life of desultory habits recoil from all restraint and naturally try to get away from any place of confinement, however, partial the character of that confinement may be.

Clothing and Belongings :--Most of them are ill clad. The body above the waist usually remains naked. Some of them appear like that even in chilly weather when some covering over the body seems so essential.

Some, especially senior boys often improvise blankets out of sacks or thick coarse cloth generally procured from junk shops. No 'Durries' for bedding are to be found in their possession. The loin cloth used in the day time by many of them serves as a light cover in the night.

* There is a regular migration of vagrants from one place to another. A few of our vagrants at Kanpur belong to distant places such as Karachi in Pakistan. Free trips to the major cities of the country many a time a year are a regular feature of such vagrant life without any moorings. Many of them have visited port towns and coastal cities like Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. The much travelled among them may be aptly styled 'miniature Bradshaws' as they are well versed in train timings and routes of various journeys.

Whatever scanty clothes they have, are carried on person, as there is no safe place to keep them. They have to be very careful of thefts—common phenomenon of every day occurrence. This is why they hardly believe in encumbering themselves with articles and goods which they cannot carry lightly and easily with them as they move about from place to place. It was a general complaint of shoe-shine boys that some body slipped away with their brushes and polish-tins when they were asleep. The thefts are committed by none else than their own fellow vagrants.

We could not find any of them having utensils to cook food or even a mug to drink water from. We did, however, come across some occasional roasting in the open of meat or fish, stolen in all probability from the railway godowns or transhipment yards.

Means of Livelihood :—There is not much of difference between the activities of these vagrants and those of others who have homes or other shelters within the city. Of course a 'pavement sleeping' vagrant has to depend wholly on what he can manage himself.

The main sources from where their food is obtained are as follows:—

(i). Begging for alms from the passengers.

- (ii). Picking up eatables from the refuse thrown out before the shops and restaurants.
- (iii). Small service done in shops that deal in eatables, this sometimes providing them with one-time meal.
- (iv). Juvenile traders get food in return for coal that they give to shop-keepers.
- (v). Last but not the least important is the pilfering of food articles from hawkers and shops.

Food articles are often bought also. But this is possible only when they collect and save money adequate for the purpose. For a large slice of their earnings is usually spent on smoking and visiting picture houses and on other wasteful habits that drain away whatever little cash they can lay their hands on.

Money is obtained by selling pilfered articles and through juvenile trades. Often they do odd jobs against small payments. Good luck in gambling sometime helps them in this respect.

The chief items on which this money is spent are gambling, movies, smoking, narcotics and buying sundry eatables like sweets and chats.

Book Review :

Report of the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes.

COMMITTEE ON PLAN PROJECTS, NEW DELHI.

Vol 1. July, 1959. pp. 359.

A Team with Smt. Renuka Ray M.P. as leader was constituted in 1958 to study the programmes for Social Welfare and the Welfare of Backward Classes in India and to make suitable suggestions, *inter alia*, for modifications in content and scheme of priority, efficient utilisation of resources, co-ordination and for improving the quality of welfare personnel. This was a huge assignment and the Team contacted thousands of individuals in person, made a detailed study of hundreds of welfare agencies and Welfare Examination Projects and conferred with representatives of Central and State governments, Planning Commission and non-official organizations before preparing this document.

The Report is divided into eight parts; the last three contain annexures, recommendations and maps and charts. Part I is introductory and includes chapters on "Evolution and Scope of Social Services" and "Role of Voluntary Organizations". After succinctly tracing the evolution of voluntary welfare agencies in India, the Study Team addresses itself to the task of defining the concept of Welfare. It observes that welfare services are "designed to enable the underprivileged or handicapped sections of the community to rise as close to the level of normal community as possible". (p. 19). Before commenting on this definition it may be submitted that there is scarcely any justification for treating welfare programmes for the backward classes as if

they were not an integral part of Social Welfare. To come to the definition, then, it would be seen that this definition is as narrow as the one emphasizing "complete wellbeing" is wide. If welfare services are to be organised only for the under-privileged or the handicapped, one would like to be enlightened as to how do the youth welfare services, for which a separate chapter has been written, come within the ambit of Social Welfare. Similarly, the emphasis on the 'normal' child does not seem to be consistent with such a narrow and perhaps, a negative concept of welfare, nor does the stress on preventive approach. About public participation, the Team is of the view that "the basic approach on this subject should be in terms of participation of government in the people's programme and not people's participation in programmes of government." (p 14) The Team, apparently, does not realise that this line of thinking is not exactly reconcilable with the accepted meaning of Welfare State, in which the state is expected to play the role of the senior partner in social welfare activities.

The Study Team finds, that the Central Social Welfare Board has not taken effective steps "to assist the voluntary organizations in improving the quality of their services" and gently reprimands the Board for its inability to undertake any "comprehensive and continuing programme of surveying the needs and requirements of social

welfare agencies." (p.29). The Team, thereafter, recommends that the original functions of the CSWB be revised, more non-official persons be appointed as its members and that it be given a statutory status. It has a good word to say for the practice of appointing (only) women to certain high administrative posts ; others, however, may not consider it to be as 'healthy'. Throughout the Report the Team makes recommendations calculated to increase the power and expand the scope of work of the CSWB. Inspite of all this one really wonders if the CSWB has not already outlived its utility and if a time has not come for setting up a full-fledged social welfare ministry at the Centre which, among other things, may take up the work at present assigned to the Board. So much is the Team enamoured of the Board, (despite some deserved, albeit mild, criticism) that while keeping 'integration' as a social objective (p.6) it goes on to recommend (in the chapter on Administrative Set-up) that a separate Department (and not a Ministry) be set up under the Ministry of Education which may be redesignated as the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare and the CSWB should continue to function in an extended jurisdiction. At present, as the Team itself points out (p. 294), social welfare subjects are dealt with by the Ministries of Education, Health, Home Affairs, and Community Development and the Planning Commission. This is by no means a happy picture from the point of view of integration. The Indian Conference of Social Work has, for the last few years, been expressing itself, and rightly, for the formation of a Social Welfare Ministry at the centre and the data marshalled by the Study Team, if objectively analysed, cannot lead to any other conclusion. But the Report, strangely enough, contains suggestions which do not promise to bring about a rationalisation in the existing administrative pattern ; the Study Team's

recommendations in this regard are halting, half-hearted and even pusillanimous. Surely, the Study Team knows that co-ordination, like charity, begins at home.

The Team, likewise, manages to overlook the problems of (Lack of) coordination that certainly do and will arise when State Social Welfare (Advisory) Boards and Social Welfare Ministries have to function in the same area even though their fields, are theoretically demarcated. The recommendations about coordination, therefore, are not imaginative ; they will ensure anything but coordination. On Welfare Extension Projects, however, the Team says much that is sound and sensible. Similarly, a clear and clever analysis of the main defects of the present grants-in-aid programme precedes some neat suggestions about the methods of making Capital, Development and Maintenance grants.

Social Defence measures, the Team opines, are "intended to protect the society from the social evils arising out of the activities of individuals who come into conflict with law". (p.80). The Report contains detailed, if not new, suggestions for tackling juvenile delinquency and organising social and moral hygiene and aftercare services. The recommendations on aftercare services are reasonable and realistic ; they have been advanced earlier, though.

The Team notes the distressing fact that out of 442 municipalities/district boards as many as 293. i.e., 66.3% did not undertake welfare schemes. Even among those which spent some amount on such schemes, the expenditure incurred, by more than half of them has been less than 5 per cent of their total expenditure. This is a sad commentary on our social welfare consciousness and it is to be hoped that our local

bodies will benefit by the balanced suggestions offered in this regard by the Team. The chapters on youth welfare and child welfare do not break any fresh ground. Emphasis is generally laid on games and sports facilities and other extra-mural activities for checking indiscipline among the youth and giving direction to their energy. We tend to overlook the fact that not a few of our angry young men come from amongst those who participate enthusiastically in such extra-curricular programmes. The case for focusing our attention on the needs of the normal child has briefly but persuasively been made, though the proposal for setting up a National Commission for Child Welfare may not find many ardent supporters; proliferation of committees and commissions has seldom proved helpful.

Part III of the Report pertains to the Welfare of Backward Classes and the Study Team here offers elaborate suggestions purported to improve agriculture, communication, education, medical and health services and housing schemes for the Backward Classes which include Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes, Denotified Tribes and Other Backward Classes. There will be general agreement with the Team's observation: "While still retaining the Schedule of Castes and Tribes for special assistance, an economic criterion should be applied within the groups of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes so as to ensure that more benefits go to those who are economically less advanced. However, the ultimate objective would be to entirely eliminate criteria other than economic so that backwardness would be judged only on the basis of economic considerations. It is envisaged that the economic basis of need would then constitute the nucleus of a system of social security which can be extended in proportion to the expanding national resources." (p. 126)

After examining the demand and supply position of trained welfare personnel in the country, the team pinpoints the need for a suitable procedure for recognition of training institutions. In India though there is a paucity of trained personnel, the main problem is lack of coordination between training and employing agencies. The recommendations to bring about this much-needed coordination are worthy of consideration and implementation. A rational admission policy in social work schools will, obviously, be a necessary step. The Study Team rightly pleads for the constitution of a separate cadre of welfare personnel at the center and in the states for the administration of welfare agencies. An interesting suggestion about financial administration is that a change be made in the financial year from 1st April, as at present, to 1st of July. That evaluation of any programme presupposes a clear cut set of objectives is a point, the Team, unfortunately, does not mind missing in its 1½ page chapter on evaluation.

Inspite of some well-argued points and some exceedingly useful recommendations, the Report, generally speaking, is replete with vague suggestions and, on the whole, does not altogether satisfy one who expected the Study Team to display more originality and insight. It is high time we came out of the twilight zone of undefined terminology and confusion. The deficiencies of the Report notwithstanding—and they are patent and they are many...., it shall continue for quite some time to remain a reference book on social welfare in India which, however, is more a tribute to the dearth of data and literature on the subject in our country than to the merits of the Report.

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